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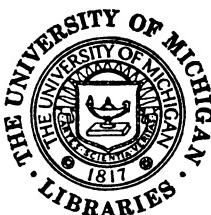
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THE EARLY DAYS OF MONASTICISM ON MOUNT ATHOS

BY

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PREFACE

THE following pages are the by-product of various visits to the Monasteries of Mount Athos for the study of Biblical and Patristic MSS. It is impossible for any one to visit these districts without becoming interested in the local history. I trust that Byzantine scholars will pardon my invasion of their province.

It is also probably worth noting that the list of *anecdota hagiographica* could be enormously increased by the consistent cataloguing of the lives of Saints in the various libraries other than the Laura; for the extraordinary wealth of Mount Athos in this respect is obscured by the fact that the Cambridge catalogue of Lambros does not as a rule do more than record the month to which a volume of *βιοι* belongs. It is of course a help to know which MSS. have *βιοι*, but the really valuable work of cataloguing the contents has still to be done.

The pleasant duty is once more laid on me of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Trustees of the Revision Surplus, the Hort and the Hibbert Funds. This is the seventh book which I have had published, and of these seven five are entirely the result of grants made to me by some or all of these societies; it is unnecessary for me to say more to prove that I have reason to be grateful for their help.

KIRSOFF LAKE.

Leiden, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

THE history of Greek monasticism seems, in all the places in which it flourished, to afford examples of a development passing through three more or less clearly defined periods.

There is first of all the hermit period, in which a desolate piece of country is selected by hermits as affording the necessary solitude for an ascetic life. Secondly, there is the period of loose organization of hermits in lauras; that is to say, a collection of hermits' cells, more or less widely scattered, grows up round the common centre provided by the cell of a hermit of remarkable fame, who has attracted, and in some degree become the leader of, the others. Thirdly, there comes a time when the loose organization of the laura is replaced by the stricter rule of a monastery, with definite buildings and fixed regulations, under the control of an *īgyoúμenos* or abbot. The passage from the previous stage to this was no doubt frequently hastened by the fact that the Byzantine authorities encouraged monasteries, but were not as a rule favourable to lauras.

The present treatise on the early history of Mount Athos is an attempt to collect the few and scattered pieces of evidence which bear on the

INTRODUCTION

first two stages—the hermit and the laura—on Mount Athos, and to show that no exception is afforded to the general rule of development. Although the evidence is scanty, it is sufficient to prove that there were hermits before there were lauras, and lauras before there were monasteries, on the Holy Mountain.

It would therefore have been logical to divide the discussion into the three periods dominated by hermits, lauras, and convents; but in practice it has proved impossible to do this, for the same man often began life in a monastery, and afterwards became successively a hermit, the centre of a laura, and the founder of a monastery. This is especially the case, naturally enough, in the middle period, when the mountain was occupied partly by hermits and partly by monks in lauras, whom force of circumstances compelled to adopt an increasingly more developed form of organization.

In the following pages I have therefore divided the discussion according to the saints and monasteries which play the chief part in the story. The first division is dominated by Peter the Athonite, who was a hermit, and nothing else, in the middle of the ninth century; his life, the text of which I append, has never previously been published. The chief personage in the second division is Euthymius of Thessalonica, who was first a hermit, and afterwards the centre of a laura, on Mt. Athos. The third division is not connected with the name of a monk who lived on Mount Athos, but with that of

Johannes Kolobos, who about 970 founded close to the mountain a monastery which played a considerable part in forcing the hermits and lauras of Mount Athos to adopt a more definite organization.

The fourth and last division deals with the position of affairs in the tenth century as revealed by various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite, and includes the final decay of the laura system and its replacement by fully organized monasteries, together with the final absorption of the monastery of Kolobou by the monks of the mountain. For the sake of clearness I have as largely as possible kept the discussion free from any very long quotations from original documents, and have collected the evidence afforded by these in a series of *pièces justificatives* forming appendices to each chapter.

CHAPTER I

PETER THE ATHONITE

In the *Acta Sanctorum* for June 12 (also in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 150, col. 989 ff.) is printed what claims to be the life of Peter the Athonite, as told in the fourteenth century by Gregorios Palamas, the famous opponent of Barlaam in the Hesychast controversy. No one, however, has ever tried to find in this document any serious history concerning Peter, and it was impossible to say whether it was the free composition of Gregory, or based on some earlier tradition from which he had selected the miraculous episodes which edified him, while omitting the historical details which would have interested us.

Fortunately for history, in the Laura on Mount Athos and in other libraries there are preserved MSS. of an earlier life of Peter which was written (so at least it claims) by a certain Nicolaus, and was undoubtedly the source used by Gregory Palamas. This has never been published and, though not a document of the first rank, is worth studying.

Research in menologies would probably reveal the existence of a fair number of MSS. At present, however, the only ones with which I am acquainted are as follows:—

(1) In the Laura on Mount Athos, Cod. Δ 79 (saec. XII. 36. 3 x 25. 0 cm. 2 col. 33 ll.), a beautifully written MS. containing the lives of the Saints and encomia for April, May, June, July, and August. This MS. has been used by M. Louis Petit for his edition of the life of Michael Maleinos;¹ he there ascribes the MS. to the thirteenth century, but although it is exceedingly difficult to date these large hagiographical hands, I doubt if it can be put so late. Indeed my own opinion is that it was written early rather than late in the twelfth century. The last page of the life of Peter is unfortunately missing, but the text can be supplied from the other MSS.

(2) Also in the Laura, Cod. E 190 (written at the expense of Simeon, proegoumenos of the Laura, ἐκ τῆς χώρας Καρύστου, and given by him to the library in 1646). This MS. is clearly a copy of Δ 79, and it was obviously not worth while to collate it: but it is valuable as giving the text of the lost page of Δ 79.

(3) In Rome, Cod. Vat. 1190 (ff. 1003–1012), a MS. written in 1542 for ‘Georgius episcopus Sitiensis et Hierapetrensis’ and given by him to Pope Paul V.

(4) In Paris, Cod. Coislin. Paris 307 (ff. 398–410), a MS. which formerly belonged to the monastery of Castamonitou on Mount Athos and was obtained from

¹ *Vie et Office de Michel Maleinos, &c.,* par Louis Petit. Paris, Picard et fils, 1903 (in the *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale*, éditée par Leon Clugnet).

it (it is almost certain) for Séguier, the Chancellor of Louis XIV, by the famous Père Athanase, whose story is told by M. Henri Omont in his *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient, aux XVII et XVIII^e siècles.*¹

(5) Also in Paris, Cod. Coislin. 109, a MS. of the tenth century, which Séguier most probably also acquired from Père Athanase, containing on fol. 249^v f. a short extract (in a later hand) from the life of Peter. This is important because the MS. itself came from τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου (on f. 266).

No doubt further investigations would reveal more MSS., but the text of Δ 79 is not bad, and it is not probable that the collation of other MSS. would give any results at all proportionate to the labour of collating them.

In editing the text I have kept strictly to my copy of the MS. except in the insertion of iota subscript, and the treatment of enclitic accents. Where my copy attests a probably corrupt reading, and supports it by a *sic*, I have noted the fact with *sic cod.* Where I fear that I have made a mistake in copying, as the reading is apparently wrong, and is nevertheless not supported by a *sic cod.*, I have noted the fact by *sic* without *cod.* Merely orthographical variations I have printed without comment.

¹ Paris, *Imprimerie nationale*, 1902.

The Story of Peter's Life.

The story told by Nicolaus is a typical example of the methods followed by the Greek hagiographers. All the emphasis is laid on the visions, miracles, contests with demons, and general asceticism of the saint during his life, and on the history and efficacy of his relics after his death. There is often a tendency to describe all this kind of narrative as unhistorical; but it would be truer to say that it narrates certain abnormal psychological experiences and combines them with a 'Weltanschauung' which is entirely foreign to modern ways of thinking. The *Acta Sanctorum* would, I think, afford magnificent material to any one who would treat the psychology of the later saints in somewhat the same way as that made famous by Prof. W. James in his *Varieties of Religious Experience*.

At the same time it is certainly true that this side of the narrative has no importance for fixing the historical facts connected with Peter. It is therefore probably expedient to tell over again in a few words the few purely historical parts of the story, as these afford the only foundation for any discussion of the date of Peter, and of the light thrown on the early history of the mountain by his life.

Peter was originally a soldier (a *σχολάριος* of the fifth *σχολῆ*) who was captured by the Arabs in Syria and imprisoned at Samara—a misfortune which he regarded as the direct result of his neglect

to fulfil a vow to become a monk. He entreated St. Nicolaus to help him, and promised that if he obtained his liberty he would go to Rome, and there take monastic vows. After some difficulty, to overcome which the further intercession of St. Simeon was necessary, the help of the Saints proved effectual, and Peter obtained his liberty. In accordance with his vow he went to Rome and was ordained monk by the Pope. After a short stay in Rome he joined a ship bound for the Levant, but when he was close to Mount Athos the ship was miraculously delayed, and he thus recognized that this was the place in which, as St. Nicolaus had told him, he was to pass the remainder of his days as a hermit. On disembarking he found the mountain uninhabited and lived there for fifty years in a cave. Here he was tempted by devils and in danger from wild beasts, but ultimately was victorious over both. Towards the end of his last year he was accidentally discovered by a hunter, to whom he told his story, advising him to follow his example and adopt the ascetic life. His words had so much influence that the hunter promised to return after a farewell visit to his family; but when he came back the following year, bringing with him his brother and some monks, he found that Peter was already dead. But since according to mediaeval ideas the corpse of a saint is worth even more than his living body, the two brothers proceeded to take away the relics in the boat in which they had come. They rowed and ✓

sailed along the east coast of the mountain, but when they were opposite the monastery of Clementos (where the present Iveron¹ stands), their boat stood still in spite of a favourable wind which filled their sail. So long were they stationary that the monks of Clementos put out to them, and made them land with the relics, the story of which they told very reluctantly, as they felt that it was improbable that they would be allowed to keep them. Nor were they mistaken: the relics were received with many honours and placed in the shrine of the Virgin 'where they are accustomed to hold the annual celebrations'. After this the hunter and his brother departed, but the monks who had accompanied them were not prepared to abandon the relics, and after diverting suspicion by professing a desire to join the foundation of Clementos, stole the body of Peter and sailed off at night to their own country. The monk Nicolaus, in whose name the book is written, says that he was an eyewitness of their departure. The monks who had taken the relics successfully escaped to Phocamin in Thrace, but the miraculous power of their burden becoming known, the bishop and clergy of the place forced them to sell it, and the relics remained permanently in that place.

In this story there are three points which arrest attention as likely to supply material for dating the life of Peter. These are (1) the imprisonment at Samara, (2) the pilgrimage to Rome, (3) the monastery of Clementos.

¹ i. e. the Georgian Monastery,—ἡ μονὴ τῶν Ἰβήρων.

(1) *Samara.* This is the city which is officially known in Arabic history as Sarra-man-raa, on the Tigris above Baghdad. It was the capital of the Abbasid Caliphs from 836, when it was rebuilt by Caliph Mu'tasim, to 892,¹ with the exception of the year 865 when the Caliph Musta'in left it for Baghdad, but was pursued by Mu'tazz who then assumed the Caliphate. The reference to Samara therefore fixes the years between 836 and 892 as the most probable for the imprisonment of Peter. Moreover, the fact that the intermittent war between the Greeks and the Arabs blazed up again in 838—just previously there had been a breathing-space—enables us to say 838 instead of 836.

(2) *Pilgrimage to Rome.* At most times it would be very improbable for a Greek monk to think of going to Rome to receive the tonsure, and it is certainly very improbable that any Greek writer, after the beginning of the tenth century, would have invented such a story. But during the Iconoclast movement it is not at all unlikely that a monk of the Iconolatric party went to Rome for this purpose. The Iconoclast movement ceased with the death of Theophilus in 842, so that the story of the pilgrimage to Rome is more probable if it were undertaken in consequence of a vow made before 842 than after that year.

Thus this line of argument, combined with the facts connected with Samara, points to the years between

¹ See Le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1900, especially pages 13 and 311.

838 and 842 as the most probable for Peter's imprisonment and vow.

(3) *The Monastery of Clementos.* This gives less help: all that is known is that in the tenth century there was a monastery of Clementos, which was already decaying and was ultimately absorbed by the new foundation of Iveron. Judging from analogy these early monasteries had a period of about a century for their rise, decline, and fall. This argument would of course be quite worthless by itself as a basis of chronological argument. But as we find that the monastery of Clementos was decaying in the year 980, when it was given to Johannes the Georgian by the Emperor Basil Bulgaroktonos,¹ we should not be surprised to find that it was founded about the year 880. Now according to the life of Peter he was fifty years on Mount Athos: it is suggested by the previous argument that he came there about 840: therefore he died about 890. So far as it goes this fits the other data very well, for the suggestion made by the life of Peter is that the monastery of Clementos did not exist when he came to Mount Athos, and was flourishing at his death.

There are no other points in the life which seem to afford chronological evidence, but the date suggested will enable us to make an easy correction of a puzzling statement at the beginning. The narrator says that Methodius of Patara had commended the example of Peter. This is clearly

¹ See p. 102.

absurd, for Methodius of Patara lived in the fourth century. But if we eject the words 'of Patara' from the text as a gloss, the passage may be understood as a reference to the Methodius who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 842, in which case there is nothing improbable in the fact that he had heard of the escape of Peter and of the fulfilment of his vow.

The result of this investigation is to show that Peter the Athonite is probably an historical person who lived the life of a hermit on Mount Athos in the ninth century. It remains to ask what is the date of the existing narrative. As the MS. in which it is found belongs to the twelfth century, and Peter himself belonged to the ninth, any date between these extremes is possible. It is equally obvious that the writer wishes to give the impression that he was himself a younger contemporary of Peter, for he claims to have been an eyewitness of the theft of the relics. If one could be certain that the words 'of Patara' in reference to Methodius are merely a gloss and not due to the writer himself, there would not be much reason for questioning the truth of this implication. But if the confusion between Methodius of Patara and Methodius of Constantinople be really due to the writer, it is almost inconceivable that he belonged to the ninth century. In this case the tenth century is probably the date of the writing of the Life. It can hardly be much later in face of the reference to the monastery of Clementos, which

ceased to exist after 980. On the whole I think that the latter is the more probable view for two reasons : (1) Mount Athos is referred to as the Holy Mountain, a title for which I know of no evidence before the tenth century ; (2) it is suggested, though not clearly stated, that the monastery was dedicated to the Virgin, whereas Clementos was dedicated to the Baptist, though the foundation which absorbed it was really dedicated to the Virgin. These two points are not worth much in themselves, but are perhaps just sufficient to turn the scale in favour of the tenth century. In this case one must assume either that the writer wished to represent Peter as a contemporary of Methodius of Patara in the fourth century, or, which is much more probable, did not know in the least when Methodius of Patara lived and simply mixed up two people of the same name. In either case the statement made above that the words 'of Patara' are a gloss must be taken to mean that they are a gloss on the tradition rather than on the text of the life of Peter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF PETER THE ATHONITE

Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν
Πέτρου τοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.

I. 1. Tὸ τοὺς τῶν ἀγίων βίους καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν θεοφιλῆ πολιτείαν
ἐγγράφως ἐκτίθεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν
καὶ ζῆλου ὅμοιον παραδιδόναι, καλὸν καὶ λίαν ἐπωφελὲς
καὶ θεάρεστον· τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀκούουσιν ὄνηστις οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα
γίνεται, καὶ τῷ γράφοντι μισθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν
ἀκούοντων. ὅθεν κάγῳ πατρικῇ πεισθεὶς ἐντολῆ κελευσόνσῃ
τὸν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου βίον ἀνάγρα-
πτον γενέσθαι, τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀθω ὅρει ἀγγελικῷ πολιτευσα-
μένου, καὶ ἀσάρκως, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, βεβιωκότος, δίκαιον
ἔκρινα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένου θάυματος παρὰ
τοῦ τρισμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου ἀπάρξασθαι, καὶ
οὕτω καθ' είρμον καὶ ἀκολουθίαν τὸν ἄλλον αὐτοῦ διασαφῆσαι
βίον. τὰ δὲ τοῦ θαύματος τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον· ὡς
αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας πατὴρ ἡμῶν Μεθόδιος ὁ Πατάρων ἐπίσκοπος
συνεγράψατο “μοναχοὶ” φησὶ “τινὲς τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ
πάντα θεῷ ἐπιτηδευμένων ἀρέσκειν, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καλῶν
καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ στοιχειούμενοι, τοῦτό μοι γεγενεῖσθαι ὑπὸ¹
Νικολάου τοῦ ταμμάκαρος νεωστὶ τὸ θαῦμα διηγόρευσαν.
Πέτρος, λέγοντες, ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ μονάχος ἀπὸ
σχολαρίων γενόμενος τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ μονάσαι διαβε-
βαιώσατο.” ὅντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ σχολῇ καὶ
μετὰ στρατοπέδων διαφόρων ἐπὶ Συρίαν ἀποσταλέντος
πρὸς πόλεμον, ἔτυχεν, οὐαὶ πολλάκις φιλεῖ ἐν ἀνθρώποις
γίνεσθαι, τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικρατεστέρων ὄφθεντων, τρα-
πήναι μὲν τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, ζωγρηθῆναι δὲ
παρ' αὐτῶν πλείστους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ οὗτος ὁ Πέτρος αἰχμα-
λωτισθεὶς εἰς τὸν λεγόμενον Σαμαρὰν ἀποστέλλεται
(κάστρον δὲ τοῦτο ἔστι τοῖς Ἀραψίν ὀχυρώτατον τε καὶ

2. His im-
prison-
ment at
Samara.

πολυάνθρωπον), ἀποδοθῆναι τε τῷ τούτων ἀρχηγῷ, τοῦ πολέμου ὡς ἄρπαγμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκεινος ὁ δυστεβῆς εἰς δημοσίαν φυλακὴν αὐτὸν ἐναπέθετο, καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν σιδήροις βαρυτάτοις κατησφαλίσατο, σωφρονέστερος ὥσπερ τῶν οἰκείων γενόμενος ἔξεταστής, καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ἄρα διὰ τοῦτο εἰς προνομὴν καὶ δουλείαν ἀπεδόθη, διότι πολλάκις εὐξάμενος τῷ θεῷ γενέσθαι μοναχὸς καὶ τοῖς τοῦ κόσμου ἀποτάξασθαι πράγμασιν, εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀνεβάλλετο, ἐποτνιάτο, ἵσχαλλεν, ἐδυσχέ-
ραινεν, ἔαυτὸν τῆς βραδυτῆτος κατεμέμφετο, καὶ δὴ ὡς
ἄξια παθὼν εὐχαρίστως ὑπέφερε τὰ γενόμενα. ὡς δὲ 3.
χρόνος αὐτῷ παρωχήκει ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ πλείστος, καὶ οὐδεμίᾳ His first
ἀφορμῇ σωτηρίας ἐπρομηθεύετο, ἐκ πολλῆς συνηθείας τῶν prayer to
τοῦ ἄγιον Νικολάου θαυμάτων προυπάρχων, καὶ ἅμα τοῦτον laus.
ἐν τοῖς θλιβεροῖς ἀρωγὸν ἐπιβοᾶσθαι μεμελετηκώς, τῇ ἔξ
ἔθους παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενος “έγώ,” φησίν, “ἄγιε Νικόλαε,
οἴδα ὡς ἀνάξιος είμι πάσης σωτηρίας· πολλάκις γὰρ μονάσαι
τῷ θεῷ ὑποσχόμενος, μὴ περατώσας δὲ ὅπερ ἡὐξάμην τῷ
πλάσαντι, δικαίως καὶ τῆς ἐνθάδε ζοφώδους καθείρξεως ἔτυχον.
διά τοι τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν τὴν ἰκεσίαν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως
οὐ τολμῶ ποιήσασθαι, σοὶ δὲ ὡς συνήθως ἔχοντι τὰ τῶν ἐν
ἀνάγκαις προσοικειοῦσθαι βάρη, καὶ ταῖς δεήσεσι τῶν θλιβο-
μένων προσεπικάμπτεσθαι, θαρρῶν προσφεύγω· καὶ σὲ
μεσίτην πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγυητὴν προβάλλομαι, ὡς ἄρα,
διὰ σοῦ τῇ ἔκεινον ἐπινεύσει τῶν ὧδε δεσμῶν ἀπολυτρούμενος,
οὐκέτι τοῖς κοσμικοῖς θορύβοις ἐπιμενῶ, οὐδὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ
πατρίδι ἐμαυτὸν ἐγκατοικίσω, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ Ῥώμην πορεύσομαι,
καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου σηκῷ ἀποκειράμενος, οὕτω
διατελέσω τὸν ἄπαντά μου τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον, μοναστῆς ἀντὶ
κοσμικοῦ δεικνύμενος, καὶ εὐαρεστεῖν θεῷ ὅση δύναμις ἐπιτη-
δευόμενος.” ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτων πλείστα λέγων ὁ ἀνήρ,
καὶ ἅμα νηστείας ἔαυτὸν ἐπιδιδοὺς καὶ δεήσεσιν, ἐβδομάδα
ἡμερῶν ἄστιος διετέλεσε. περὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἐβδομάδος τέλος
ὸπτάνεται αὐτῷ ὁ ταχὺς τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων αὐτὸν ἐπίκουρος,
ὁ θερμὸς προστάτης καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος, καὶ φησὶ πρὸς
αὐτόν, “καὶ τῆς δεήσεως σου, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε, ἀκήκοα, καὶ
τὸν στεναγμὸν τῆς καρδίας σου ἡκροασάμην, καὶ τὸν
εὔσπλαγχνον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐλιπάρησα.

ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ αὐτὸς βραδὺς τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν ἐκπλωρῆς¹ καθέστηκας, γνῶθι, ἀδελφέ, ὡς οὐ βούλεται σε τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνεθῆναι, κρείττον ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν σωτηρίαν σου προμηθοῦμενος. ὅμως δὲ οὖν ἐπείπερ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἐντολὴ τὸ ‘αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται, κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν,’ μὴ ἐκκακήσωμεν τὴν αὐτοῦ καθικετεύειν ἀγαθότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν, καὶ ὅπερ οἶδε συμφέρον, τοῦτο πάντως καὶ οἰκονομήσει εἰς ἡμᾶς.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος καὶ ἐγκαρτερεῖν αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος, γεύσασθαι τε τροφῆς προτρεψάμενος, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησε. τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τότε μὲν μεταλαβόντος τροφῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ἵκεστιν μετὰ νηστείας ἐπιτείνοντος, φαίνεται αὐτῷ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος, σκυθρωπῷ τινὶ βλέμματι, ὡς δῆθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵκετεύων καὶ παρακούμενος, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὑφειμένη καὶ πραεῖται φωνῇ “ἐγώ μέν, ἀδελφέ, πίστευσον, οὐκ ἐπαυσάμην περὶ σοῦ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα· καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐκβιαζόμενος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ οἷς τισι κρίμασιν ἡ ποίᾳ οἰκονομίᾳ τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν ὑμῖν ἀναβάλλεται. πλὴν ἐπειδήπερ εἴωθεν ὁ πολυεύσπλαγχνος τὴν ἀναβολὴν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἡμῶν πραγματεύεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ταχέως λαμβάνοντες καταφρονῶμεν ῥάδίως τῆς χάριτος, θέλει δὲ ἵστως καὶ παρ’ ἐτέρων ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀξιωθῆναι τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων αὐτῷ, ἐγώ σοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποδείξω πρεσβευτὴν ἀξιώτατον. λάβωμεν οὖν αὐτὸν συνήγορον ἀμφότεροι, μόνον ἐπὶ ἀψεύδεσι τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οἶδα ὡς ἐπινεύσει ὁ θεὸς δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα.” τοῦ δὲ εἰρηκότος “καὶ τίς εἴη ἄρα, ἄγιε δέσποτα, ὁ πλέον σοῦ τὸ θεῖον ἰλασθησόμενος, σοῦ γάρ ταῖς πρεσβείαις καὶ ταῖς προστασίαις ὁ κόσμος ἄπας περισώζεται;” ὑποφθάσας αὐτῷ ὁ μέγας ἔφη Νικόλαος “οἶδας Συμεὼν τὸν δίκαιον, ὃς ἐν χερσὶ τὸν κύριον τεσταρονθήμερον προσδεξάμενος ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰσεκόμησεν;” “οἶδα,” φησί, “ἄγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῖς γάρ αγίοις εὐαγγελίοις ἐστιν ἀνάγραπτος.” ὁ δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος Νικόλαος “τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ἀμφότεροι εἰς πρεσβείαν κινήσωμεν, δύναται γάρ, ὡς τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ δεσποτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ τῆς Θεοτόκου ἀεὶ παριστάμενος· καὶ πάντως τὰ ἀπέραντα ἡμῖν πέρας αἰσιον ἀπολήψονται.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν² ὁ ἄγιος Νικόλαος

¹ sic cod.² sic.

4.
His
second
prayer to
S. Nico-
laus.

ἀπηλλάττετο. διυτισθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ, πάλιν ἔαυτὸν ταῖς ικεσίαις καὶ νηστείαις δεδωκός, ταῖς Νικολάου πρεσβείαις His ἐπικαλεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπέλιπε. καὶ θέα μοι ἐνταῦθα τὴν τοῦ prayer to S. Sy- ἄγιον συμπαθείαν, πῶς τὸν ἵκετην ἀποθεραπεύσας βουλόμενος meon, and καὶ τῶν αἰτησέων αὐτοῦ προμηθεύσασθαι τὸ συμπέρασμα, his escape οὐ κατώκησεν εἰς τοῦτο συμπρεσβευτὴν καὶ Συμεὼν παρα- from prison.

λαβεῖν τὸν δίκαιωτατον· μεθ' οὐ παραστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπιφορᾷ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν λύσιν αὐτῷ τῶν λυπηρῶν ἔχαρίσατο, “θάρσει” ἔφη, “ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε, καὶ τῆς ἀθυμίας τὸ πολὺ ἀποσκευασάμενος, τῷ κοινῷ μεσίτῃ καὶ συμπρεσβευτῇ Συμεὼν τὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ἐπιθάρρησον.” τούτου δὲ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ἀνατείναντος, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Συμεὼν περισκοπήσαντος, ἐντρόμον δὲ δλον γενομένου τῷ δέει τῆς ὁράσεως, ὁ δίκαιος αὐτῷ παραστὰς Συμεὼν ράβδον χρυσῆν μεταχειρίζομενος, ἐφούδ τε καὶ κίδαριν καὶ ἐπωμίδα περιβεβλημένος, τοιούτοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχρήσατο ρήμασιν, “αὐτός,” φησίν, “ὑπάρχεις ὁ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Νικολάῳ ἐνοχλῶν, καὶ συνεχῶς δεόμενος ἀνεθῆναι σε τῆς περιεχούσης σε θλίψεως, καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα φρουρᾶς, καὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν τούτων δεσμῶν;” ὁ δὲ μόλις τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἀνοιγέντος “ναί,” φησί, “ἄγιε τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ταπεινός, ὁ ἐγγυητὴν αὐτὸν εἰς θεόν, καὶ τὴν σὴν ἄγιωσύνην μεσίτην καὶ πρεσβευτὴν προβαλλόμενος.” “καὶ φυλάττεις,” φησίν, “ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἄπερ αὐτῷ καθωμολόγησας, μοναχὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἐναρέτως βιοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος διεγειρόμενος;” “ναί,” φησίν, ὑποφθάσας ὁ ἵκετης ἀντέφησε,¹ καὶ ὁ δίκαιος Συμεὼν “ἐπειδήπερ” φησίν “ἐμμένειν οἵς ὡμολόγησας διαβεβαιοῖς, ἔξελθε ἀκωλύτως τῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὅπερ βούλει βάδιζε, οὐδὲν γάρ σε τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν δοκούντων κωλυτικῶν ἐμποδίσαι ή παρακατασχεῖν δυνήσεται.” τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου τοὺς πόδας τοῖς σιδηροῖς καθηλωμένους ὑποδείξαντος, ἐκτείνας τὴν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ράβδον ὁ ἄγιος Συμεών, τῶν τε σιδηρῶν ἐφαψάμενος, ὡς τήκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου πυρός, οὕτως αὐτὰ διαλύσας παραχρῆμα ἥφανησεν. εἴτα ἔξελθὼν τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ὁ δίκαιος Συμεὼν, καὶ συνακολούθων αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος ἄμα Νικολάῳ τῷ θεομάκari, τὴν πορείαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εὐρέθη ποιούμενος, γνωρίσας δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὡς οὐκ ἐνύπνιον τὸ ὄρώμεον (όνειρόττεσθαι γὰρ

¹ sic cod.

αὐτὸς ἐδόκει τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ πράγματος), τῷ μεγάλῳ Νικολάῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ἐπειπών, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡφαντώθη ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, ἔμεινε δὲ μόνος ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς τῷ κηδεμόνι τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας Νικολάῳ παρομαρτῶν καὶ προσανακείμενος. ὁ δὲ μέγας Νικόλαος τὰ πρὸς σιτισμὸν αὐτῷ ἄρασθαι διεκελεύετο, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος μηδὲν ἔχειν ὃ διατραφήσεται, ὁ τοῦ κυρίου γνήσιος θεράπων Νικόλαος θαρρεῖν αὐτῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ διακελευσάμενος, εἰσελθεῖν ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν ἑκέστε κήπων παρεγγυήσατο, κάκεῖθεν ὅσα βουλούστο τῶν ὄπωρῶν ἑαυτῷ ἀποκομίσασθαι: οὐπερ γενομένου, καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς διατροφὴν εὐπορήσαντος, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ὁ μέγας χειραγωγῶν Νικόλαος ἔως εἰς Ῥώμανίαν ἀβλαβῆ διεκόμισεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς Γραικῶν ἐπέβη γῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁ μὲν ἄγιος εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπηλλάττετο, τοῦτο μόνον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπών, “καίρος σοι, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε, τὰς συνθήκας ἐκπληρῶσαι ταχύτατα, εἰ δὲ μὴ πάλιν τῷ Σαμαρᾶ ἀποκομίζῃ ὡς δέσμιος.” ὁ δὲ ἄμα μὲν καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀναβολῆς δεδιὼς τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄγιον θεραπεύειν ἐκμηχανόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ οἴκῳ ἀπελθών, οὐδὲ μὲν τοῖς ἴδιοις ἡ γνωρήμοις ἑαυτὸν φανερώσας, ὡς ἀν μὴ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς σπουδῆς ἀναχαιτισθῆ, τάχους ὡς εἶχε πρὸς Ῥώμην ἡπείγετο ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Κυρίῳ τὰς εὐχὰς μετ’ ἔξομολογήσεως, ἃς διέστειλε τὰ χεῖλη αὐτοῦ.

II. 1.
His jour-
ney to
Rome.

2.
S. Nico-
laus and
the Pope.

καὶ σκόπει μοι ἐνταῦθα, ὃ φιλότης τῶν ὄρθοδόξων, τῆς τοῦ παμμάκαρος Νικολάου κηδεμούσας τὸ ἀσύγκριτον, πῶς ὥσπερ πατὴρ φιλόστοργος καὶ συμπαθής, ἡ ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸς ἄριστος τῷ αὐτῷ προσανεχηκότι¹ συμπαρομαρτεῖ, οὕτως αὐτῷ συνοδοιπόρει, ἐπηκολούθει, προέτρεχε, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προωμάλιζε, τὰ διπισθεν ἐπερρώνυε, κατευοδῶν ἐν ἄπασι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστη τούτου ἔως ἂν αὐτὸν τῷ θεῷ προσῆξεν ὡς ἐπεχείρησεν. ἄρτι γάρ τότε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγγιζούστος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἀγνοοῦστος, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ, τὸ² τηνικάῦτα τῆς Ῥώμαιών ἐκκλησίας προερεύοντι ὁ μέγας αὐτὸν κατάδηλον καὶ ἐμφανῆ παρίστησι Νικόλαος, νύκτωρ τῷ Πάπᾳ ἐπιστάσ, τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ χείρας κρατῶν, αὐτῷ τοῦτον ὑπεδείκνυεν, δῆπος μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ ἀνερρύσατο, καὶ δῆπος εὐχὴν ἔχει ἐν τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀποκείρασθαι σηκῷ καθεξῆς προσδιηγούμενος, γνωρίσας αὐτῷ ἄμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὄνομα,

¹ sic.

² sic cod.

Πέτρον αὐτὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι εἰπών, σπεύδειν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ Πάπᾳ ὑποθέμενος, ὡς ἀν τάχιον τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς περατώσει. διυπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πάπας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ κορυφαίου τέμενος ἀπίων, ἦν γὰρ κυριακὴ τῶν ἡμερῶν, Peter in S. Peter's πάντας περιεσκόπει καὶ τῶν προσαπαντώντων κατενόει τὰ in Rome, πρόσωπα, εἰ ἄρα τὸν δειχθέντα αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπνους ἀναγνωρεῖ and his καὶ θεάσεται. καὶ δὴ τὸ πλῆθος προσανεσχηκὼς τοῦ λαοῦ with the ὄρφα τὸν ἄνθρωπον μέσον τῶν ἄλλων ἴστάμενον νεύμασι δὲ Pope. αἴπαξ καὶ δὶς τοῦτον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὡς εἶδε μὴ ὑπακούοντα, ἐξ ὄνόματος αὐτὸν ἐπιβοᾶν ἐπεχείρησε, "Πέτρε" λέγων "ὁ ἀπὸ Γραικίας ἐληλυθός, οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰ ὃν ὁ μέγας Νικόλαος ἐκ τοῦ Σαμαρᾶ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπελυτράσατο;" τοῦ δὲ ἔαυτὸν εἶναι ὁμολογήσαντος, καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ θαμβηθέντος τοῦ ἀκούσματος, ὁ Πάπας αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο "μηδὲν θαυμάσῃς, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε," λέγων, "ὅτι ἐξ ὄνόματός σε ἐκάλεσα, ὃν οὐδέποτε τεθέαμαι ὁ γὰρ πολὺς καὶ μέγας Νικόλαος νύκτωρ μοι ἐπιστὰς ἀπαντα τὰ κατά σε ἐνεφάνησε, καὶ ὡς ἥκεις ἀποθριξόμενος καὶ τὰς εὐχάς σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποπληρώσων." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πάπας III, 1. καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποκείρας, θερ τοῦτον, ὡς ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, His de- καθίέρωσε. καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον μετ' αὐτοῦ ὁ parture τοῦ θεοῦ ὅντως ἄνθρωπος, κατηχηθεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς Rome. σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ὡφέλειαν συντείνοντα, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ῥώμης, εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Πάπα "πορεύου, τέκνον, ὁ κύριος ἔσται μετὰ σοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθύναι τὴν ὁδὸν σου, στηρίζων πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν, καὶ δια- φυλάττων σε ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδιῶν." πεσὼν οὖν ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος εἰς τὸν πόδας τοῦ Πάπα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν "σῶζου, τίμie πάτερ, σῶζου, μαθητὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὑπῆκοε τοῦ ἐγγυητοῦ καὶ ρύστου μου τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου," καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν τὸν τε κλῆρον ἀπαντα ἐξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως, δεόμενος θεοῦ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μὴ ἐνδοῦναι¹ προθέσεως, εύρων δὲ πλοίον εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν. ἦν 2. δὲ ὁ ἀνεμος ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ πλεύσαντες ἡμέρας ἐφ' ίκανὰς His νού- κατήντησαν ἐν τινι χωρίῳ, καὶ τὴν ναῦν προσορμίσαντες age and ἐξῆλθον οἱ ναυτικοὶ τοῦ ὄπτησαι ἄρτους. ἀπελθόντες οὖν miracle of healing. ἐν τινι οἰκίσκῳ εύρον πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶς ἔχοντας, ὄπτησαντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ καθίσαντες πρὸς ἐστίασιν

¹ sic cod.

λέγουσιν ἐνὶ αὐτῶν, “λαβὼν ἄρτον ζέοντα ἀποκόμισον τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τῷ ἀββᾶ ἡμῶν.” ὡς οὖν ἤκουσεν ὁ τοῦ οἰκου κύριος περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ, λέγει τοῖς ναύταις “κύριοί μου, ἐλθέτω ὁ πατήρ, καὶ εὐλογησάτω ἐμὲ σὲ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅτι ἥδη τῷ θανάτῳ προσεγγίζομεν τῇ χαλεπῇ ταύτῃ, ὡς ὅρατε, ἀρρωστίᾳ περικεσόντες.” τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἔκεινοι ἀπελθόντες ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ ἀββᾷ τὴν ἄκραν δὲ ταπείνωσιν περικείμενος καὶ μὴ θέλων ἑαυτὸν ἐμφανίσας, πορευθῆναι σὺν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐβούλετο· μαθὼν δὲ ὅτι εἰς ἀντὰς κατήντησαν τοῦ θανάτου πῦλας, κατηφεῖν ἄμα καὶ σκυθρωπάζων μετ' αὐτῶν διήνυσε τὴν ὁδόν. ὡς δὲ τῇ θύρᾳ τοῦ οἰκου προσήγγισαν, τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ “χαῖρε” τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ φθεγξαμένου, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡσπερ ἐκ βαρυτάτου κάρου εἰς ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος, ἀνέθωρε τῆς κλίνης ὁ ἀσθενῶν, καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ὁσίου, καὶ τούτους μετὰ δακρύων περιπτύσσομενος, ἀνέστη ἐρρωμένος καὶ ὑγιῆς, παραδόξου τυχῶν τῆς λάσεως. ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὁσίου χειρός, διέδραμε πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀσθενούντων κλινίδια, καὶ ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὁσίου τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, εὐθέως ἴωντο οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατισχυμένοι. ἵασάμενος οὖν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἀρρώστους αὐτὶς ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ πλοίον, ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ πάντα τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ οἱ ναύται, καὶ δεδωκότες δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, πεσόντες ἄμα προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. ὁ οὖν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὁ τῆς λάσεως τυχῶν πανοικί, λαβὼν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἔλαιον, παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ πλοίον, ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ διαβαστάζων αὐτά· ὁ δὲ μέγας πατήρ ἡμῶν Πέτρος τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ προαίνεσσιν ἀπεδέξατο, λαβεῖν δὲ αὐτὰ οὐ παρεδέχετο. καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἄμα τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ ἔκλαιον ὅμοι πικρῶς, λέγοντες ✓ “δοῦλε γηήσιε τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰ μὴ μικρὰν ταύτην εὐλογίαν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν λήψῃ, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ παλινοστοῦμεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἡμῶν.” μόλις δὲ πεισθεὶς ὁ πατήρ, τῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ πάντων δυστοκήσαντων πρὸς τούτο, λαβεῖν αὐτὰ κατεδέξασθαι καὶ χαίροντες ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὸν οἰκὸν αὐτῶν εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ τούτου θεράποντι. τούτων οὐτών γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δοξάσαντος ἐν πάσι τὸν ίδιον οἰκέτην, τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπάραντες οἱ ναυτικοὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τορείας ἔχοντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τροφὴ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς

3. The vision of the Theotokos, and πορείας ἔχοντο. οὐτών γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ κυρίου δοξάσαντος ἐν πάσι τὸν ίδιον οἰκέτην, τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐπάραντες οἱ ναυτικοὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τορείας ἔχοντο. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν τροφὴ τοῦ μακαρίου πατρὸς

ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ἀπ' ἐσπέρας εἰς ἐσπέραν, οὐγκία ἄρτου ἡ δὲ the reversion
πόσις ἀπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου ὕδατος ἐνὸς μικροῦ βαυκαλίου. lation of
καὶ διαπλεύσαντες ἡμέρας ἵκανάς, καὶ ἐν τινὶ ἡσύχῳ τόπῳ Mount
προσορμοθέντες,¹ μικροῦ μετασχὼν ὑπονοῦ ὁ θεοφόρος Πέτρος Athon.

ὅρâ τὴν πανάχραντον θεοτόκον μετά τινος ὑπερβαλλούσης
αἴγλης φανεῖσαν, καὶ τὸν μέγαν Νικόλαον αἰδοῖ καὶ φόβῳ
καὶ συστολῇ πλησιάζοντα, καὶ ἰκετικῶς λέγοντα αὐτῇ
“δέσποινα τοῦ παντὸς καὶ κυρία, ἐπείπερ τὸν δοῦλόν σου
τοῦτον τῆς χαλεπῆς ἔκενης αἰχμαλωσίας ἐλευθερώσαι ἥθε-
λησας, δυστροφήθητι ὑποδεῖξαι τούτῳ καὶ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν
ὑπόδοιπον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ διατελέσει χρόνον, τὰ φίλα θεῷ
διαπράττων.” καὶ στραφεῖσά φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ θεοτόκος
“ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθω ὅρῃ ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ εἰς
κλήρουν ἐμὸν αἰτησαμένη εἶληφα παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νιοῦ καὶ
θεοῦ, ὅπως οἱ τῶν κοσμικῶν αναχωροῦντες συγχύσεων, καὶ
τῶν πνευματικῶν, ὅση δύναμις, ἀντεχόμενοι, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν
ἀληθείᾳ καὶ πίστει καὶ διαθέσει ψυχῆς ἐπικαλούμενοι ὄνομα,
τὴν τε παροῦσαν ζωὴν ἀμέριμνον διανύσσι, καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν
δι’ ἔργων θεαρέστων κληρονομῶσι. πάντι γάρ ἐπιτερπῶς
ἔχω τούτου,² καὶ λίαν μοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐπενφράνεται,
καὶ γάρ σαφῶς οἴδα ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε πλησθήσεται τοῦ
τάγματος τῶν μοναχῶν ἀπ’ ἄκρων ἔως ἄκρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ
ἔλεος τοῦ ἐμοῦ νιοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, εἴ γε καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν σωτηριῶν
ἐντολῶν ἀντέχονται, εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα ἀπ’ αὐτῶν οὐ
διασκεδασθήσεται. καὶ πλατυνῷ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ νότον καὶ
βορρᾶν τοῦ εἰρημένου ὅρους, καὶ κατακυριεύσουσιν αὐτοῦ
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔως θαλάσσης, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐν πάσῃ
τῇ ὑφηλίῳ περιβόητον θήσω, καὶ τῶν διακαρτερούντων ἐν
αὐτῷ ὑπερασπιῶ.” ἀλλ’ ὅρα μοι πᾶς ὁ παρατυγχάνων
τῷδε τῷ διηγήματι δεσπότου μὲν ἄκραν φιλανθρωπίαν,
δούλου δὲ συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς ὁμόδουλον, καὶ
δεσποίνης πρὸς οἰκέτην κηδεμονίαν καὶ προστασίαν ἐννόει
δέ μοι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄσίου Πέτρου ἄκραιφνεστάτην πίστιν,
ἥτις πάντα τὰ δυσχερῆ κατευμάρισε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἥν
ηὔξατο τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδοθῆναι πεποίηκε. διυπνισθεὶς οὖν ὁ
μακάριος ἄκμαίν ἔτι τὴν ὄπτασίαν ἔχων ηὐχαρίστησε τῷ
θεῷ, καὶ τῇ πανάγνῳ τούτου μητρί, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ
Νικολάῳ. ἦν δὲ ὥρα ὥσει τρίτη, καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου

¹ sic cod.² sic cod.

4.
His arrival at Mount Athos.

τυχόντες ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες· ἐγγισάντων δὲ ἥδη τῷ τοῦ Ἀθω ὄρους ἀκροτηρίφ, αἴφνις ἔστη τὸ πλοῖον, τοῦ ἀνέμου ἔτι πινέοντος καὶ τὰ ἵστια πληρούντος, καὶ διηπόρουν οἱ ναυτικοί, πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες “τί ἀρά ἔστι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, καὶ τίς ἡ παράδοξος αὕτη καινοτομία, ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ χάσματι πελάγους, ἀνέμου ἐπιτηδείου ὄντος, τὸ σκάφος ἔστη παρ’ ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω πορείας;” ταῦτα ἀπορούντων αὐτῶν μέγα στενάξας ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἄγιος “τεκνία θέλοντα μαθεῖν με καὶ ἐρωτοῦντα, εἴπατέ μοι, ἵστις γὰρ τῆς διαπορήσεως ὑμῶν ἐπιλύντης ἔσομαι, τίς ἡ κλῆσις τοῦ τόπου τούτου;” οἱ δὲ εἶπον “τὸ ἄγιον ἔστιν ὅρος, τίμιε πάτερ, δύπερ ἀρχῆθεν τὴν τοῦ Ἀθω εἰληφε προσηγορίαν.” καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς “τάχα δι’ ἐμὲ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο γέγονε σήμερον, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ ἐξενέγκαντες ἔαστητέ με, περαιτέρω προβῆναι οὐ δύνασθε.” οἱ δὲ δάκρυσι συσχεθέντες, τὰ ἵστια χαλάσαντες τῇ γῇ προσῆγγισαν, καὶ τοῦτον μετ’ ὁδυρμῶν καὶ θρήνων ἐκβάλλοντες εἴασαν ἐκεῖσε, λέγοντες αὐτῷ ὅτι “μεγάλης σκέπης καὶ βοηθείας ὑστερήθημεν σήμερον, σοῦ διαιρεθέντος ἡμῶν.” καὶ ὁ ἄγιος πρὸς αὐτοὺς “τί οὕτως ὀλολύζετε, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατασπαράσσετε, τέκνα, δι’ ἐμὲ τὸν πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἀνάπλεον; ὁ θεὸς ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ πανταχοῦ παρὼν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, αὐτὸς καὶ ὑμῖν συνοδεύει, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀγαθοεργίᾳ τηρήσει, κάμοι χεῖρα βοηθείας ὀφέζει ἀπαρχὴν ποιουμένῳ πολιτείας θεοφιλοῦς.” οὕτως εἰπών, καὶ τὸν ἐν κυρίῳ δεδωκὼς αὐτοῖς ἀσπασμὸν τρίτον ἐπελάβετο τῆς νηός, καὶ τῷ τιμίῳ σταυρῷ σφραγίσας, καὶ ἐπειπὼν “πορεύεσθε ἀδελφοὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὁ κύριος εἴη μεθ’ ὑμῶν,” ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀκρορείας ἐκείνης τὸ ἀνωφερὲς τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δύσβατον ἰδρῶτι πολλῷ διελθὼν καὶ κόπω, πρὸς τι πεδίον ἐγένετο ὁμαλὸν καὶ εὐάερον, καὶ μικρὸν τῶν πόνων ἀνεθείς, πάλιν ἤρξατο διερχόμενος περισκοπεῖν τὸν τόπον ἐν φῇ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ ἔσται. πολλοὺς δὲ χειραμοὺς καὶ νάπας καὶ γηλόφους διελθὼν εὗρε σπῆλαιον πάνυ μὲν σκοτεινόν, ὕλῃ δὲ βαθείᾳ περιεστοιχισμένον, ἐν φῇ τοσούτον ἐρπετῶν ἐσμὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑπερβαίνειν οὐρανίων ἀστέρων πλήθος, καὶ θαλαττίαν ἄμμον, μεθ’ ὧν καὶ δαιμόνων ἐνεφάλευον πλήθη, οἱ τοσούτον ἤγειραν σμῆνος πειρασμῶν τῷ ἀγίῳ ὡς μήτε γλῶσσαν

IV. 1.
His cave on Mount Athos full of vermin and devils.

χωρεῖν ἀφηγεῖσθαι, μήτε ἀκοῇ παραδέχεσθαι. τινὰ γὰρ τῶν τῆς ὅλης ἐκείνης διατεμὼν ἢ τὴν θεόδυμητον ἔσκεπτον τοῦ σπηλαίου θύραν, κατφίησεν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἔξομολογούμενος μυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς θερμῶς ἀναπέμπων. οὕπω δὲ τὸν δεύτερον τῆς ἐβδομάδος 2.
 τοῦ ἄγιον καιρὸν διανύσαντος, τὸ καρτερικώτατον αὐτοῦ The first attempt of the devils.
 καὶ τολμηρὸν μὴ φέρων ὃ ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπιβασκαίνων
 Σατάν, ἅρας τὴν πανστρατιὰν αὐτοῦ μετὰ βελῶν καὶ τόξων,
 εἰσεισι μόνος ἐν τῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἔνθα ὁ μακάριος
 τὸν τῆς μαρτυρικῆς ἀθλήσεως διήνυεν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
 λίθιοις παμμεγέθεις, ὥσπερ κυλίοντες ἔξωθεν, μετὰ φωνῶν
 καὶ κραυγῶν ἔπειταν κατ’ αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ταῦτα ὄρῶντα τὸν
 ἄγιον λέγειν ὅτι “πάντως πέφθακέ μου τὸ πέρας καὶ οὐκέτι
 τοῖς ζῶσιν ἀριθμηθήσομαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν προστάτης τούτων
 ἔνδον ἦν τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη αὐτοῦ πανοπλία τὰ τόξα
 κατέχοντες ἐδόκουν πέμπειν κατὰ τοῦ ὄστου φονίως· ὡς δὲ
 τῇ ἀνωθεν χάριτι ἀσινὴς διετηρεῖτο, λέγει ἐν ἑαυτῷ
 “ἔξελεύσωμαι τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ γνώσομαι τίς ἡ τοσαύτη
 μανία, καὶ τί τῶν συνειλεγμένων τὸ σύνταγμα.” καὶ ἔξελθὼν
 εἶδε τὰ τῆς πονηρίας πνεύματα κύκλῳ τοῦ σπηλαίου ἐστῶτα,
 καὶ κραυγαῖς ἀφορήτοις καὶ φοβεραῖς ὅψεσιν οἰζηδὸν κατ’
 αὐτοῦ ἐπειόντα, καὶ τὸ ὅμμα πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνας τὴν
 Θεοτόκον ἐπεκαλεῖτο πρὸς συμμαχίαν, εἰρηκὼς οὕτως
 “ἄγια Θεοτόκε, βοήθει τῷ δούλῳ σου.” καὶ ἂμα τὸ
 ἀκούσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ γλυκὺν καὶ περιπόθητον ἡμῖν τῆς
 θεοτόκου ὄνομα, εὐθὺς καὶ παραχρῆμα γεγόνασιν ἀφαντοι.
 εἶχετο οὖν πάλιν τῶν ἀγώνων ὁ ἄγιος ἑαυτὸν ἐκδεδωκὼς τῷ
 σπηλαίῳ, καὶ προσευχόμενος ἔλεγε μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς
 “κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ θεός μου, μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης με,” καὶ
 οὐκέτι ἥκούντο φωναὶ μέχρι καιροῦ τινος. μετὰ ταῦτα 3.
 πετρήκοντα παρελθουσῶν ἡμέρων, πάλιν τῷ προτέρῳ χρηστά-
 μενοι σχῆματι οἱ ταλαίπωροι ὀπλίζονται κατ’ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Second attempt of the devils.
 κινοῦσι τὰν ἔρπετὸν ιοβόλον καὶ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἃ ἦν ἐν
 τῷ ὕρει, καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἄγουσιν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. καὶ τὰ
 μὲν αὐτῶν ἔνθεν κάκεΐθεν τρέχειν ἐποίουν οἱ ἀλιτήριοι, τὰ
 δὲ χάσμασι χρᾶσθαι καὶ ζώντα πειρᾶσθαι καταπιεῖν τὸν
 δίκαιον, ἄλλα δὲ ἔρπειν καὶ συρίττειν καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὄρāν
 παρεσκεύαζον. ἄλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τούτους τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ

4.
Third
attempt
of the
devils.

έκνενευρισμένους τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καὶ τῇ ἐπικλήσει τοῦ ὄνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀχράντως¹ τούτου τεκούσης μητρὸς πάτας ἐφυγάδευσε. χρόνου οὖν πληρωθέντος ἐνός, καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἀσκοῦντος τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Πέτρου, καὶ ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ καθαιροῦντος τὰ τοῦ ἔχθρου ὑψώματα καὶ τεχνάσματα, δεινὸν ποιεῖται ὁ ἀλάστωρ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἥρεμίαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. καὶ ὅρα οἴα αὐτῷ μεμηχάνεται· μετασχηματισθεὶς γάρ ὁ δαίμων εἰς ἕνα τῶν οἰκειακῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ δρομαίως ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸ σπήλαιον, καὶ ἀναιδῶς περιπτυξάμενος, αὐτὸν φιλένν υποκρινόμενος ὃ τοῦ μίσους ἀνάπλεος, καθίστας ἥρξατο κλαίειν καὶ λέγειν οὕτως· “ἀκηκόαμεν, κύριε ἡμῶν, πῶς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρατηθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Σαμαρᾶν ἀπηνέχθεις, καὶ τῇ κακῇ καὶ ζοφώδῃ ἐκείνῃ είρκτῃ παρεδόθης, πῶς δὲ ὁ θεὸς εὐχαῖς τοῦ παμμάκαρος πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικολάου τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκείνου ὡσαπόλυτο² ἐκβαλὼν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῇ σε ἀποκατέστησε, διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, ἅμα ἐμοὶ τῷ μάλιστα περικαιομένῳ τὴν καρδίαν, σῆς θέας καὶ ὀμιλίας ἔνεκεν πενθοῦσιν ἀπαρηγόρητα· πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ὅτι πλείστας διαδραμόντες οὐκ ἰσχύσαμεν τῆς ἐφέσεως ἐπιτυχεῖν, καὶ τὸ ποθούμενον ἡμῖν κατιδεῖν πρόσωπον, ἀπορίᾳ δὲ συσχεθέντες, δάκρυσι καὶ δεήσεσι τὸν μέγαν ἐπικαλούμεθα Νικόλαον, ἐκλιπαροῦντες, ὡς γλυκύτατε, ἀποκαλύψαι ἡμῖν, ὅπουπερ ἀν ἦς, τὸν κεκρυμμένον σε θησαυρόν· καὶ οὐ παρείδεν ἡμῶν τὸ ἀνάξιον ὃ ἐν πᾶσι θερμός, ἀλλ’ ἀπεκαλύψε τάχιστα, τὰ κατά σε φανερώσας. νῦν οὖν, κύριέ μου, ἀκουσόν μου, καὶ πορευθῶμεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἡμῶν (οἶδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ὕδραιος καὶ περικαλλής ἐστι) καὶ ἴδωσι πάντες τὸ αὐτοῖς σε ποθούμενον πρόσωπον, καὶ δοξασθῆ θεὸς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ὁ ἀεὶ δοξαζόμενος. περὶ δὲ ἡσυχίας μὴ ἔστω σοι φροντίς, κάκεῖ γάρ καὶ μοναστήριά εἰσι πάμπολλα καὶ ἡσυχαστήρια, ἐν οἷς τὸν ἄπαντά σου βίον ἡσυχαστικῶς διανύστεις. ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας λέγε μοι, τί τῶν δύο μάλιστα θεὸς θεραπεύεται; ἀναχωρήσει κόσμου καὶ ἐρημίᾳ καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ, τῇ τε τῶν ἀπορρώγων πετρῶν καὶ φαραγγῶν τούτων διατριβῇ, ἐν οἷς σαυτὸν μόνον, τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ ἔαυτὸν ἥκιστα ὥφελήσεις, ἡ ἀνθρώπων διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ ὁδηγίᾳ καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστροφῆ ἐκ τῆς πλάνης; ἔγωγε οἶμαι ὡς

¹ sic.

² sic cod.

μιᾶς ψυχῆς ἐκ πλάνης ὁδοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπιστροφὴ πολλῶν ἑρημικῶν ὑπερακοντίσει ἀγώνας, καὶ μαρτυρεῖ μοι τῷ λόγῳ ὃ λέγων ‘οἱ ἀνάγων ἄξιον ἔξ ἀναξίου ὡς στόμα μου ἔσται.’ πολλὰ δὲ πλήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡμῶν εἰσιν ἀεὶ ἐν μυρίοις πάθεστ πλανώμενα, καὶ χρῆζουσιν εἰκότως τοῦ μετὰ θεὸν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσοντος· μυρίος οὖν ἀποκείστεται σοι μισθός, εἴ γε τοὺς πλανωμένους ἐλθὼν ἐπιστρέψεις πρὸς θεόν. λοιπὸν οὖν τί μέλλει; τί τὴν μετὰ τοῦ ὀλοκαρδίως φιλοῦντός σε οἰκέτου ἀναδῆ ὁδόν;’ ταῦτα τοῦ δαίμονος λέγοντος καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ μετὰ δακρύων, ἥρξατο διαταράττεσθαι καὶ ὁ ἄγιος, καὶ δάκρυσι βρέχων τὸ πρόσωπόν φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ἄγγελος οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἔφερε με, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός, καὶ ἡ πανάχραντος αὐτοῦ μήτηρ ἡ Θεοτόκος, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῇ ἐκείνων γνώμῃ καὶ προτροπῇ τῶν ὅδε χωρισθῶ, ἄλλως οὐ χωρίζομαι.” ἀμα δὲ τὸ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν δαίμονα τὸ τῆς θεοτόκου ὄνομα εὐθέως ἄφαντος γέγονε, καὶ θαυμάσας ὁ ἄγιος τὴν σκαιωρίαν τοῦ δαίμονος, τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα πεποιηκώς, πάλιν ἡσύχασε. 5. ηστείᾳ δὲ χρησάμενος καὶ ἐγκρατείᾳ πολλῆ, καὶ προσευχαῖς ἀνειδότοις σχολάζων, εἰς Fourth attempt ἄκρον ἔφθασε ταπεινώσεως καὶ μέτρον ἀγάπης εἰλικρινοῦς of the καὶ νοὸς· καθαρότητα διὸ καὶ σφόδρα ἡδημόνει καὶ ἔσπευδεν devils. ὁ παμπόνηρος τὸν τόνον αὐτοῦ χαλάσαι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρεέττον ρόπης ἀναστεῖλαι, καὶ μετὰ παραδρομὴν χρόνων ἐπτὰ εἰς ἄγγελον φωτὸς μετασχηματισθείς, ἐσπασμένην ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ρομφαίαν, ἔστη πλησίον τῆς τοῦ σπηλαίου ὅπης, καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐξ ὄνόματος ἔφη “Πέτρε, Θέραπον Χριστοῦ, ἔξελθε καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι λόγους καλούς.” καὶ λέγει ὁ ἄγιος “σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ λόγους μοι ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ὡφέλημον;” καὶ ὁ πονηρὸς “έγὼ εἰμὶ κυρίου ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος, καὶ ἀπεστάλην πρὸς σε. ἵσχε οὖν καὶ ἀνδρίζου καὶ χαῖρε καὶ ἀγαλλία, δτι θρόνος θεῖος ἡτοίμασται καὶ στέφανος ἀμαράντιος. οὐν οὖν τὸν τόπον τοῦτον καταλιπὼν πορεύθητι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἰς στήριγμα καὶ ὡφέλειαν πολλῶν· κύριος γάρ ὁ θεός τὴν πηγὴν ἔξηρανε τοῦ ὕδατος τὴν πλησίον σου, διὰ τὰς τῶν θηρίων καὶ ἐρπετῶν ἐπιδρομὰς τὰς κατὰ σου γινομένας, ὅπως ἀποψύξωσιν ὕδατος μη μετέχοντα.” ἦν δὲ ὁ πάνσοφος ἐν κακίᾳ οὗτος προ-αποστεῖλας δαίμονα κωλύοντα καὶ διακατέχοντα τὴν τοῦ

ῦδατος ρύμην. τούτων ἀκούστας ὁ ἄγιος ἔφη ἐν ταπεινώσει “τίς εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ κύων, ἵνα ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔλθῃ πρός με;” καὶ ὁ δαίμων, “μὴ θαυμάσῃς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς τούτοις σὺ νενίκηκας καὶ Μωσῆν καὶ Ἡλίαν καὶ Δανιήλ, καὶ μέγας ἐκλήθης ἐν οὐρανοῖς διὰ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ὑπομονῆς σου· τὸν γὰρ Ἡλίαν ὑπερβέβηκας τῇ ἀστιά, τὸν Δανιὴλ τοῖς ἐρπετοῖς καὶ θηρίοις, τὸν Ἰωβ τῇ καρτερίᾳ. νῦν οὖν ἀναστὰς θέασαι τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος λεῖψιν, καὶ ταχέως ἐξελθὼν τῶν ὥδε ἀπελθε ἐν μοναστηρίοις τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, κάκει ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ ὡφελήσω πολλοὺς διὰ σοῦ, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.” καὶ ὁ ἄγιος “ἐγώ, γίνωσκε, ἐάν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἐν πᾶσι συνεργοῦσά μοι Θεοτόκος, καὶ ὁ θερμὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρωγὸς Νικόλαος, τῶν ὧδε οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι.” ἅμα δὲ τὸ ἀκούσται τῆς Θεοτόκου τὸ ὄνομα εὐθὺς ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐγένετο τοῦ ἀγίου ὁ δαίμων, καὶ γνοὺς τὰ τεχνάσματα τοῦ διαβόλου ὁ ἄγιος καὶ την¹ αὐτοῦ ἐπάσιν ἀσθένειαν, προσηγένετο πρὸς κύριον λέγων οὕτως “ὁ μὲν ἐχθρός, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ θεός μου, ὡριζόμενος περιέρχεται ζητῶν καταπιεῖν με, ἀλλὰ σὺ τῇ κραταιᾷ χειρὶ σου περιφρουρεῖς με, τὸν δοῦλόν σου, διὸ καὶ εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέστης ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.” ταῦτα λέγων ἡσύχασε, καὶ τῇ ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ² νυκτὶ ἀφυπνώσαντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἴώθει, μικρόν, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἡ ταχεῖα τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοήθεια, ἡ φιλάνθρωπος θεοτόκος, ἅμα Νικολάῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ φασὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν “ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μὴ δειλιάσῃς, ὁ γὰρ θεός μετὰ σοῦ ἔστι καὶ ἀναντηρήτως³ αὔριον ἀποστέλλεται ἄγγελος τροφὴν οὐρανίαν κομίζων σοι· τοῦτο δὲ προτεταγμένος ἔστι κατὰ τεσταρακοντάμερον ἀπὸ τῆς δεύρο ποιεῖν, ὑποδείξει δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ μάννα πρὸς τροφήν.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτῷ δεδωκότες ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ πεσὼν προσεκύνησε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἴσταντο, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἔρχεται ὁ ἄγγελος ὑψώθεν ἐπιφερόμενος τὰς οὐρανίους τροφάς, καὶ ὑποδείξας τὸ μάννα, καθὼς ἡ θεοτόκος ὑπέσχετο, ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. εὐχαριστήσας δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἡσύχασε καταμόνας ἀσκῶν, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδιδοὺς ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐξελιπον δὲ καὶ αἱ πυκναὶ φαντασίαι τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις χρόνοις οὐχ ἔωρακε φύσιν ἀνθρώπου,

6. *The vision of the Theotokos and the gift of manna.*

μετὰ σοῦ ἔστι καὶ ἀναντηρήτως³ αὔριον ἀποστέλλεται ἄγγελος τροφὴν οὐρανίαν κομίζων σοι· τοῦτο δὲ προτεταγμένος ἔστι κατὰ τεσταρακοντάμερον ἀπὸ τῆς δεύρο ποιεῖν, ὑποδείξει δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ μάννα πρὸς τροφήν.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτῷ δεδωκότες ἀνεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ πεσὼν προσεκύνησε τὸν τόπον ἔνθα οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἴσταντο, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἔρχεται ὁ ἄγγελος ὑψώθεν ἐπιφερόμενος τὰς οὐρανίους τροφάς, καὶ ὑποδείξας τὸ μάννα, καθὼς ἡ θεοτόκος ὑπέσχετο, ἀπέστη ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ. εὐχαριστήσας δὲ

7. *The last fifty-three years of his life.*

τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ τούτου μητρὶ ἡσύχασε καταμόνας ἀσκῶν, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδιδοὺς ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία, ἐξελιπον δὲ καὶ αἱ πυκναὶ φαντασίαι τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργείᾳ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις χρόνοις οὐχ ἔωρακε φύσιν ἀνθρώπου,

¹ καὶ την̄ νελ̄ νη̄ την̄ (sine accent.) sic cod.

² sic cod.

οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ τροφὴ πλὴν τοῦ μάννα, οὐκ ἔνδυμα, οὐ σκέπη, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν ὅσα χρῆσει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχων στέγην, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀγαπώμενον κλινιδίον, οὕτως ἐπανεπάντοτε ὁ μακάριος· ἐν καύματι μὲν καιόμενος, ἐν ἀνέμῳ δὲ καὶ χιόνι ψυχόμενος, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ὑπέμενεν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου διὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν μισθοποδοσίαν. ὅτε οὖν ἡθέλησεν ὁ Κύριος φανερῶσαι αὐτὸν V. 1.
His discovery by
a hunter. τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἰκονομίαν τοιόνδε τὸν τρόπον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασε. Θηρευτής τις τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν λαβὼν ἔξηλθε θηρεῦσαι κατὰ τὸ ὅρος πολλὰς δὲ λόγμας φάραγξι βαθείαις ἐναποκρήμνους καὶ τὰς ὑλώδεις ράχιας τοῦ ὅρους παραμεψάμενος, ἐγένετο κατ' ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος, ἐνθα ὁ ἄγιος τὴν ἀγγελικὴν ἡσπάζετο πολιτείαν, καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον ἦν ἐμπορευόμενος πλοῦτον. καὶ ἴδον παμμεγέθης ἔλαφος τοῦ πλησιάζοντος τῷ σπηλαίφ δρυμῷ ἔξελθὼν σκιρτῶν πως ἥλατο ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρευτοῦ· ἴδων δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑπερμεγέθη τε ὄντα καὶ σφόδρα ὠραῖον, τᾶλλα πάντα καταλιπὼν ἥκολούθει τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς ὁ ἔλαφος ὀδηγούμενος ἐλθὼν ἐστη ἐπάνω τοῦ σπηλαίου, κατίχοις δὲ βαίνοντος τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, καὶ περισκοποῦντος ποιώ τρόπῳ περιγένηται τοῦ ζώου, φαίνεται αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι ἀτενίσαντι ἀνήρ βαθὺς μὲν τὴν ὑπήνην, καὶ τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας μέχρι τῆς μήτρας καθιεμένας ἔχων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἀπαν γεγυμνωμένον καὶ παντὸς ἐστερημένον ἐνδύματος· ὃν ἴδων καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ ὄράματος ἔκπληκτος γεγονώς, ἐδειλίασε σφόδρα, καὶ τὸ θήραμα καταλιπὼν ὀπισθόρμητος εἴη, καὶ φεύγειν ὅση δύναμις ἥρξατο. ἐωρακὼς δὲ τοῦτον ὁ μακάριος φυγῇ χρησάμενόν φησι πρὸς αὐτὸν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ “τί φοβῃ; τί ταράττῃ; τί με φεύγεις, ἀδελφέ; κἀγὼ ἀνθρωπός εἰμι, ὡς καὶ σύ, καὶ οὐ φάσμα δαιμόνιον ὡς ὑπέλαβες, δεῦρο πρός με, καὶ ἔγγισον, καὶ ἀναγγελῶ σοι πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμέ, εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπέστειλέ σε ὁ κύριος.” ἐμφόβου δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποστρέψαντος καὶ θάμβους πλήρους, ἀσπασάμενος ὁ πατὴρ καὶ θαρρεὺν προτρεψάμενος, καθ' εἰρμὸν καὶ τάξιν καὶ ἀκολουθίαιν πάντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ ἀνδρὶ· τὴν τε κάθειρξιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν τῷ Σαμαρᾶ, καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρυσιν τὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς Νικολάου

γενομένην, καὶ τῷ τοίφ τρόπῳ εκάπκυσεν ἐν τῷ ὅρει, καὶ τῶς παρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων διαφόρως ἐπολεμήθη, καὶ πῶς ἐτρέφετο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, καὶ τῶς παρέσχεν αὐτῷ τὸ μάννα ὁ Κύριος, καὶ ὅπως τῇ τούτου καὶ μόνη τροφῇ διήρκεσεν ἔτη πεντήκοντα τρία, καὶ ἀπλῶς πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ διεστάφησε τῷ ἀνδρί. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρήμενοις, καὶ ἐννεὸς γενόμενος ἔφη τῷ ἀγίῳ, “νῦν ἔγνωι διτὶ κύριος ἐπεσκέψατό με, καὶ ὑπέδειξέ μοι, ω̄ πάτερ, κεκρυμμένον σε τὸν αὐτὸν θεράποντα. κάγὼ τοίνυν μετὰ σοῦ ἔσομαι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ σὺν σοὶ τὸν σωτήριον διανύσω ἀγῶνα.” ὁ δὲ φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν “οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται, τέκνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἀπελθε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου, καὶ τὸ ἐπιλαγχάνον σοι μέρος τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομίας διάδοσ τοῖς δεομένοις, ἀπόσχον τε οἶνον, καὶ κρέων, καὶ τυροῦ καὶ ἐλαίου, καὶ πρὸ τούτων τῆς ἴδιας γυναικός, καὶ ἐπιμελήθητι εὐχῶν, καὶ προσοχῆς, καὶ ψυχῆς συντετριμμένης τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ ἐλθὲ πρός με, καὶ εἴ τί μοι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀποκαλύψει, τοῦτο καὶ γενήσεται.” ταῦτα εἰπών, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀρραβώνα δοὺς τῷ θηρευτῇ, ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια εἰρηκώς, “σὺ μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πορεύον, τέκνον, τὸ δὲ μυστήριον φύλαττε, θησαυρὸς γάρ φανερούμενος εὐάλωτος ἔσται κλέπταις, καὶ εὐεπιχείρητος.”

8.
The dis-
covery of
the relics
of Peter
by the
hunter.

καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ θηρευτὴς τὸν μὲν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἐποίησε καθὼς εἰπεν ὁ ἄγιος, μετὰ δὲ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐντολῆς, λαβὼν μεθ' εαυτοῦ δύο μοναχοὺς καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν, ἐπορεύθησαν ἀμα εὐρόντες πλοιάριον, καὶ δὴ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καθώρμισαν ἐν τῷ ἀκροθηνίῳ, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ πόθῳ πολλῷ ἀψάμενοι, ἀνέρχονται εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον. καὶ θέα μοι, ω̄ φιλότης, τὸ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας ἀπόρρητον, προλαβὼν γάρ πάντας ὁ θηρευτής, ἀτε δὴ καὶ ζῆλῳ θερμοτέρῳ κινούμενος, εὑρε τὸν μακάριον τεθνεώτα, καὶ τὰς χειρας σταυροειδῶς δεδεμένας ἔχοντα, καὶ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς εὐσχημόνιας κεκαλυμμένους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα σεμνῶς ἐπὶ γῆς κείμενον καὶ ἐσχηματισμένον. ίδὼν δὲ οὕτως τὸν ἄγιον κείμενον τῇ λύπῃ ὥσπερ ἐκπληκτὸς γεγονώς, ταῖς χερσὶ κρούστας τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκεσε χαμαί, οἰμωγῇ καὶ κλαυθμοῖς καὶ ὀδυρμοῖς συνεχόμενος. μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ συνελθόντες αὐτῷ μοναχοὶ καταλαβόντες ἐκεῖσε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς διδαχῆς καὶ νοοθεσίας καὶ



ἐντολῆς τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, ἔκλαυσαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πικρῶς στερηθέντες τῆς αὐτοῦ ὄμιλίας καὶ εὐχῆς. ὁ δὲ τοῦ θηρευτοῦ ἀδελφὸς ^{4.} πνεύματι κατείχετο ἀκαθάρτῳ, καὶ ἂμα τὸ προσεγγίσαι ^{The devil and the} καὶ ἄφασθαι τοῦ λειψάνου ἦν ἰδεῖν φοβερώτατον θέαμα ^{hunter's brother.} σπαραγμοὶ γὰρ συνεχεῖς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατεσπάραττον, οἵ τε ὄφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑφαιμοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ διάστροφοι, τὸ δὲ στόμα πλῆρες ἀφροῦ, καὶ τρίζων τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐβόα λέγων “ὦ Πέτρε, οὐκ ἀρκεῖ σοι τῶν πεντήκοντα τριῶν χρόνων ὁ διωγμὸς ὃν ἐποίησας εἰς ἐμέ, ἐξώσας με τοῦ σπηλαίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν βούλει με καὶ ταύτης ἐκδιώξαι τῆς κατοικίας μου; οὐκ ἀκούσω σου, οὐδὲ οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθω.” καὶ βλεπόντων τῶν ἑστηκότων ἐγένετο φαιδρά τις καὶ περικαλλῆς ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου ὅψις, καὶ πολλὰ σπάραξαν καὶ διατάραξαν αὐτὸν τὸ τῆς κακίας δαιμόνιον ἀπέστη ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὃς πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀφασίδι κατείχετο καὶ ἀφωνίᾳ, νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέρων, ἐπικαλεσαμένων δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ ἵερον γέροντος καὶ τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἥγερθη ἐρρωμένος καὶ σωφρονῶν, εἰπὼν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ, “εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριέ μου καὶ ἀδελφέ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ ἐν καλῷ ἡλθον ὁδε, καὶ ταύτης ὡς ὁρᾶς ἔτυχον ίάσεως.” ^{VI. 1.} χαρᾶ τοίνυν καὶ δάκρυσι τὸ τίμιον αὐτοῦ ἀράμενοι λείψανον, εἴσαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ εἰσελθόντες ^{The journey of the} ἐν αὐτῷ ἦνυν τὴν ὄδὸν αὐτῶν, τὴν ἐπὶ Βορρᾶν παραπλέοντες ^{relics to} τοῦ ὄρους πλευράν. κατ' οἰκονομίαν δὲ θεοῦ ἔστη τὸ πλοῖον ^{Clement-} ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐν ἴσῳ γενόμενον τῆς μονῆς, ἡς ἡ προσηγορία τὰ Κλήμεντος, μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ μονῆς ἀκούσαντες, ἡ γὰρ τῆς Θεοτόκου πρόρρησις ἥδη προβαίνειν ἥρξατο, καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ σταγάρονος ὕδατος τῆς τῶν κατοικούντων ἐνδείας εὐαριθμήτου καὶ ὀλιγότητος, εἰς πέλαγος αὔξεν ἄπειρον καὶ πλατυσμὸν καὶ πλῆθος τὸ νυνὶ φαινόμενον ἡ τῶν καλῶν συνεργὸς φυκονόμησε πρόνοιαν, δθεν εὔκαιρον ἐστιν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ εἰπόντος “ώς καλοί σου οἱ οἶκοι Ἰακώβ, αἱ σκηναὶ σου Ἰσραήλ, ἀς ἐπηξεν ὁ κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπος.” ἀπὸ ὕρας δὲ τρίτης ἔως ὕρας ἐννάτης, καὶ κώπαις χρώμενοι καὶ ἴστια ἐφαπλούντες, καὶ ἄνεμον ἐπιτήδειον ἔχοντες μετακινῆσαι τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἴσχυον. ὄρωντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς μοναχοὶ τό τε πλοῖον

μὴ μετακινούμενον καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη καὶ βίᾳ χρωμένους τοῦ περαιτέρῳ προιέναι, καὶ ἀστοχοῦντας, ἔκθαμβοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἰκείῳ πορθμίῳ χρησάμενοι ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπινθάνοντο παρ' αὐτῶν τί ἀν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι. οὐκ ἐβούλοντο δὲ οὗτοι φανερώσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ μυστήριον, ἀλλὰ πλασταῖς καὶ ψευδέσι χρώμενοι ἀπολογίας ἔσπευδον τὰ τοῦ πράγματος διασκεδάσαι. ἐπιγνόντες δὲ οἱ μοναχοὶ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγοντιν ἀλλ' ἐπίπλαστα, μόνον ἔνευσαν τὸ πλοῖον πρὸς τὴν μονὴν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπορεύθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. ἐμβριμησάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ προεστώς, καὶ ἀπειλαῖς σφοδροτάταις χρησάμενος, κατὰ λεπτὸν ἔμαθε πάντα παρὰ τοῦ θηρευτοῦ, εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ λαμπάδων δραμόντες ἥραν τὸ λείψανον, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. καὶ ἦν ἵδεν πᾶσαν νόσον δραπετεύονταν τῶν τῆς μονῆς ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας αὐθωρὸν ἰωμένους· διαδραμοῦσα δὲ ὥσπερ τις κῆρυξ ἡ φήμη οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθῷ ὅρει συνήθροιστε μοναχούς, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πλήθη ἄπειρα τῆς περιχώρου, καὶ πάντες ἴωντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο φ δήποτε κατείχοντο νοσήματι. καὶ ἦν χαρὰ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀγαλλίασις ἐν τε τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὅρει καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀθροισθεῖσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ὄντες μοναχοὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἄγιον λείψανον ἡγαγον ἐν τῷ νάρθηκι τοῦ πανσέπτου ναοῦ τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου, ἔνθα εἰώθεισαν τὰς ἐτησίους συνάξεις ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ὑμνωδίας ἀκαταπαύστους μέχρις ἡμέρων ἐπτά, κατέθεντο ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου, ἀλώη καὶ σμύρνη καὶ διαφόροις ἀρώμασι μετὰ καθαρᾶς σινδόνος εἰλίσαντες, εἰχον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ, δτι καὶ πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους ἐθεράπευε καὶ μαλακίας. οὕτω

2.
The relics
at Cle-
mentos.

μὲν οὖν, τοῦ ἀγίου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ὄντος, καὶ διαβοήτου τοῖς θαύμασι γενομένου, ὁ θηρευτὴς ἄμα τῷ ἰδιῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἐφόδιον αἰτησάμενοι, τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν ἐπορεύθησαν χαίροντες. οἱ δέ γε μονάζοντες ἐκείνοι, οἱ τῷ θηρευτῇ συναναβάντες ἐν τῷ σπηλαιώφ, κλοποφορῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου βουλευσάμενοι, ὑφάλῳ γνώμῃ καὶ κεκρυμμένῳ πλάσματι προσπεσόντες, λέγοντι τοῖς πατράσι “γνωστὸν ἔστω ὑμῖν, θεοφόροι πατέρες, ὡς οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὃν ὁ κύριος

3.
The theft
of the
relics
by the
strange
monks.

μὲν οὖν, τοῦ ἀγίου ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων στόμασιν ὄντος, καὶ διαβοήτου τοῖς θαύμασι γενομένου, ὁ θηρευτὴς ἄμα τῷ ἰδιῷ ἀδελφῷ τὰς εὐχὰς τῶν γερόντων εἰς ἐφόδιον αἰτησάμενοι, τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν ἐπορεύθησαν χαίροντες. οἱ δέ γε μονάζοντες ἐκείνοι, οἱ τῷ θηρευτῇ συναναβάντες ἐν τῷ σπηλαιώφ, κλοποφορῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου βουλευσάμενοι, ὑφάλῳ γνώμῃ καὶ κεκρυμμένῳ πλάσματι προσπεσόντες, λέγοντι τοῖς πατράσι “γνωστὸν ἔστω ὑμῖν, θεοφόροι πατέρες, ὡς οὐκ ἀφιστάμεθα τοῦ θησαυροῦ ὃν ὁ κύριος

ἀπεκάλυψεν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν τὰς λοιπὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν διανύσσομεν.” καὶ τῶν πατέρων μάλα περιχαρῶς δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον, ἥσαν γάρ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς τῷ ἀπλάστῳ κοσμούμενοι, μικρὰς ἐκείνοι προσμείναντες ἡμέρας, εἰδότες ἔνθα τέθαπτο ὁ πατήρ, νυκτιλόχους ἐνέδρας ποιήσαντες, ὥσπερ τινες τυμβορύχοι, τῷ τάφῳ προσέδραμον, καὶ τοῦτον φόβῳ καὶ σπουδῇ διανοίξαντες, τὸ τίμιον ἔλαβον λείφανον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δρομαῖοι τὸν αἰγαλὸν πεφθακότες, ἐν ἀκατίῳ προστοιχηθέντι ἐμβάντες, τοῦ ὄρους φυγάδες ϕχοντο. τούτων αὐτίκοος καὶ αὐτόπτης ὁ ταπεινὸς ἐγὼ γεγονὼς Νικόλαος ἔσπευσα, εἴ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἀλλ’ οὐν ὀλίγα τινὰ ἐκθέσθαι, καὶ τῷ παρόντι ἐντάξαι συγγράμματι, ὡς ἀν εἰδεῖν οἱ μετέπειτα τοῦ κόσμου ἀνακεχωρηκότες καὶ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ προσορμισθέντες, πῶς δεῖ περιπατεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ ποιάς ἀντέχεσθαι πολιτείας, καὶ μεθ’ οἷων ἀγώνων καὶ καμάτων καὶ πόνων ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία κληρονομεῖται· ὡς οὖ γε ἀναπεπτωκότες, καὶ κατ’ ἐμὲ ῥαθυμοῦντες, καὶ μέγα τοῦτο μόνον ἡγούμενοι τὸ φαγῆναι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα ἀδεῶς διαπράττοντες, ἥγουν ἐπικτήσεις σκευῶν ποικίλων καὶ πολυτίμων καὶ ἀγρῶν καὶ κτημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἢ τοῖς φιλοκόσμοις καὶ φιλομερίμνοις εἰσὶ περισπούδαστα, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτοὺς ὠφελῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας τὰ μέγιστα περιβλάπτουσι, καὶ βλασφημεῖσθαι δί’ αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάζουσιν ὄνομα, πολυκτήμονες ἀντὶ ἀκτημόνων ὄνομαζόμενοι, καὶ τοῦ τῆς γῆς πλούτου κύριοι, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανίου πλούτου ἀλλότριοι. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο τινα τῶν ἀψευδῶς ἀποτασσομένων τῷ βίφ τὴν ἐναντίαν τῶν ἐντολῶν πορεύεσθαι, τὴν στενὴν δὲ μᾶλλον προτιμᾶν τῆς πλατείας, καὶ τὴν πενίαν τοῦ πλούτου, καὶ τῆς δόξης τὴν ἀδοξίαν, καὶ τῆς παρούσῃς χαρᾶς τὴν νομιζομένην ἐπίκονον καρπερίαν, ἵνα καὶ τῷ παρόντι βίφ τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου διανγάσῃ, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν ἀναφαίρετον κληρονομίσσωι βασιλείαν, ἡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ποθεινότερον ἡ τιμιότερον, τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν προτιμῶσι τοῦ γενέδους. ἀλλ’ ἐπαναληπτέον αὐθὶς τὸν λόγον, καὶ διηγητέον VII, 1. τὸ μετὰ τὴν κλοπὴν τοῦ λειψάνου τοῦ θεοφόρου πατρὸς The relics outside γενόμενα θάματα. ἄραντες τοίνυν οἱ μοναχοί, καθ’ ὃν Mount ἐπτὸν τρόπτον, τὸ σῶμα κατήχθησαν εἰς τὸ χωρίον Φέκομη, Athos. Arrival

at Pho-
camin.

2.
The "Chi-
liarch"
devil
at Pho-
camin.

τελοῦν ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα Θράκην· ἦν δὲ πλησίον τούτου πηγή, καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ τὸ ἄριστον ἐτοιμάσαντες, τὴν μὲν πήραν ἐν ᾧ τὸ σῶμα τεθησαύριστο τοῦ ἀγίου, παρὰ φυτοῦ κλάδων ἀπηώρησαν ἐλαῖς, αὐτοὶ δὲ αὐτοσχεδίφ καὶ λιτῇ χρησάμενοι τραπέζῃ εὐχαριστήσαντες ἥσθιον. οὕπω δὲ τὰ μέσα τοῦ ἄριστου τούτων ἔχόντων, ἵδοὺ παμπληθεὶς οἱ τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορες μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ ταΐδων ἔρχονται, ἕαυτοὺς σπαράσσοντες καὶ ἀλαλάζοντες, καὶ Πέτρον τὸν μέγαν

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀθω ἐληλυθότα ἐπικαλούμενοι. τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτῶν ἀλλοιώσεως οὐ κατοκυήσω διηγήσασθαι στοά τις ἦν ἀρχαία τῆς κρήνης ἐγγύς, ἐν ᾧ οἱ μοναχοὶ ἕαυτοὺς ἔψυχον, οὐ μόνον ὑψεὶς ὑπερφερῆς καὶ πλάτει ὑπερμεγέθης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερμήκης, ἢτις τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ ὥλῃ καταχωσθεῖσα οἰκητήριον ἐγένετο δαίμονος χιλιάρχου, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ὑπὸ χείρα τοσῶτα ἐκεῖσε διέπραττεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους διαφθείρειν, καὶ δαίμοσι ὑποβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνους καὶ κύνας καὶ βόας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτηνῶν ἀποπνίγειν καὶ πολλὴ θλίψις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἀδημονία ἦν περὶ τούτου. οὗτοι τούννι ἅμα τὸ πλησιάσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ λείψαντον τοῦ ἀγίου, ἔφυγον μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς, ἐπεισέφρησαν¹ δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ καὶ πάντας ἐνθουσιάν, καὶ διαταράττεσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἐποίουν. ὡς δὲ τῷ φυτῷ καὶ τῇ πήρᾳ σπαραγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ προσεπέλεσαν², ἦν ἴδειν θαῦμα τῶν πάλαι θαυμάτων παραδοξότερον· εὐθὺς ἀποπάντα τὰ δαιμόνια τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ θρηνητικῶς ὀλολύζοντα τῆς περιχώρου ἐκείνης ἐλαύνεσθαι. τίς δὲ καταλεπτὸν ἔξειποι, ἡ γραφὴ διασαφήσοι τῶν γενομένων τότε θαυμάτων τὰ ὑπὲρ ἄμμον πλήθη; μύρου γὰρ εὐωδεστάτου πλῆρες γενόμενον παρ' αὐτήκα τὸ λείψανον, ἦν ἴδειν τῇ τούτου προψάσει δαιμονιῶντας σωφρονοῦντας, τυφλοὺς ὄρωντας, λεπροὺς καθαιρομένους, κυλλοὺς ἀνορθωμένους, χωλοὺς ἄρτια βαδίζοντας, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς πάσης πάντας ἀσθενείας ἀπηλλαγμένους. ἐν οἷς καὶ τις ἀνήρ, ἐν ὅλοις ἔτεσι ὀκτὼ κλινήρης ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κείμενος, μετὰ κραυγῆς ἥντιβόλει τοὺς κατὰ τὸ λεωφόρον τρέχοντας ἐπὶ τὴν θαυματουργὸν ἐκείνην πήραν, τὴν παρὰ πάσιν ἀδομένην, τοῦτον ἀπαγαγεῖν, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δρόμον εἶχοντο, ἥ

¹ sic cod.

² sic.

έκείνου ἡκουον παραθεωρούμενος δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον ἥλγει καὶ ἐδυσχέραινεν. ὃς δὲ ἥδη ἀπείρηκε τινὰ πρὸς οἰκτον μὴ ἐπισπόμενος, ἴδον οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ εὐεκτοῦντες, ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ σωφρονοῦντες ἀπὸ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπελθούσης αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐν τάχει διαβαστάσαντες τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς κλίνης, πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν ἐπορεύοντο τῆς ὑγείας· καὶ ἂμα τὸ πλησίον γενέσθαι, ἥλλατο τῆς κλίνης εὐθύς, καὶ εἰς τῶν ὁδοιπορούντων ἐγένετο, οὓς καὶ προλαβὼν καὶ τῷ ἄγιῳ περιχαρίας δάκρυσι προσπεσών, πάντων εἰς αὐτὸν θεωρούντων, ἄρτιος τοῦ ἐδάφους ἥγερθε καὶ ὑγίης, ἥχον τινὰ φοβερὸν καὶ τρισμὸν τῶν ἄρρθρων αὐτοῦ τῇ ἔγερσει ἀποτελεσάντων καὶ πάντες ἔδωκαν δόξαν τῷ θεῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἴδοντες καὶ τὸ φρικτὸν τοῦτο θέαμα. φήμης δὲ καθ' ὅλης τῆς περιχώρου διαδραμούσης, ἦν ἵδεν ποταμῆδὸν συρρέοντα τὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων πλήθη, οἱ τοὺς ἄρρωστους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κραββάτοις φέροντες, ἐρρωμένους καὶ ὑγιεῖς ἴδοις ποσὶ βαδίζοντας εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διέσωζον. γνωστὸν δὲ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ γενόμενον, ^{3.} *The action λαβὼν πάντα τὸν κλῆρον αὐτοῦ μετὰ θυμιαμάτων καὶ κηρῶν, of the σταυροὺς ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ τὸ ἄγιον διαβαστάζοντας εὐαγ-* *bishop.* *γέλιον, τὸ χωρίον κατέλαβον, ἔνθα τὸ ιαματοφόρον ὑπῆρχε His pur-* *τοῦ ὄσιον λείψανον, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνός, τιμῆς ἔνεκεν the relics.* προστηκούσης, κεκρυμμένως ἐβάδιζον, ἕως ἐλθόντες ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ κλίνῃ. καὶ ποιήσαντες εὐχὴν ἐκτενὴν, περιεπτύξατο τὸ λείψανον, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, εἰθ' οὕτως οἱ καθεξῆς, καὶ ὥρας οὐκ ὀλίγας προσκαρτερήσαντες εἶδον θαυμάτων ἄβυσσον προιούσαν, καὶ ἐξεθαμβήθησαν, καὶ δάκρυσι βρέχοντες τὰς παρειὰς τὸ “κύριε ἐλέησον” ἔκραζον, καὶ τὸ “δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν παράδοξα θαύματα διὰ τῶν εὐαρεστούντων σοι.” μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλέσας τοὺς μοναχοὺς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λέγει παρακλητικῶς αὐτοῖς “δέομαι ὑμῶν ἀδελφοὶ χαρίσασθαι ἡμῖν τὸν θεῖον τοῦτον, καὶ χρυσοῦ παντὸς τιμιώτερον θησαυρόν, καὶ οἰκοδομήσας οἴκον εὐκτήριον ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦτον περιστελῶ, εἰς μνήμην ὑμῶν καὶ λύτρον τῶν ἐμοῦ πεπλημμελημένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ, καὶ ταυτῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς χάριτος λήψεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατόν, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέχομαι τοιοῦτον μαργαρίτην πολύτιμον ὥδε κάκεΐσε περιέρχεσθαι, ἢ τὸν λύχνον ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον

κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀκτίνας συστέλλειν τῆς χάριτος.” οἱ δὲ μηδὲ ἄκροις ὡσὶ τὰ ρήθεντα θελήσαντες παραδέξασθαι, ἔμειναν ἀντιπίπτοντες καὶ μὴ μεθήσειν φάσκοντες, κανὸν χρυσοῦ ὑπόσχοιτο χῖλια τάλαντα. ὡς δὲ τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ χρηστάμενος τούτοις ἐνεβριμήσατο ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἀμα τῷ λοιπῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν Ἱερέων, “ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα βούλησθε λαβεῖν,” εἰρηκότες, “ἀπέλθετε τῶν ὧδε κεναῖς χερσί,” καταπειθεῖς γεγόνασι καὶ ὑποκλινεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἔκατον εἰληφότες νομίσματα μετὰ καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων εἰδῶν ἐπορεύθησαν πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρη, τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὁσίου στέρησιν ὀδυρόμενοι, τῇ δὲ ποσότητι τοῦ χρυσίου μικρὸν παραμιθούμενοι.

4. The complaint of the devils and the attempt to burn the relics. τῆς μικρᾶς ταύτης βούλόμενος ἔξορίσαι με κατοικίας καὶ ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τούτων, ἴδού τις δαιμονῶν ἔτρεχε βοῆ χρώμενος ἀνυποστάτῳ, καὶ Πέτρον ἀπὸ Σχολαρίων ἀνακαλούμενος, “οὐκ ἀρκετὸν ἐφάνη σοι τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς καταμονῆς καὶ τοῦ ὅρους διῶξαι, ἐν φῶν ἐσπευδον πλανᾶν τοὺς μοναχοὺς κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἔρχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧδε παραγέγονας, τῆς μικρᾶς ταύτης βούλόμενος ἔξορίσαι με κατοικίας καὶ ἀναπαύσεως; ἄρτι σου τὸ σῶμα πυρίκαυστον ποιῶ πάντων ὄρώντων, εἰ μὴ ἔάσῃς με.” ἦν δὲ κατέχων ὁ ἀνθρώπος λαμπάδας πυρὸς ἐν ἔκατέραις ταῖς χερσὶ, καὶ ὡς μόνον ὥρμησε ταύτας ἐν τῷ λειψάνῳ θῆναι, γέγονέ τις ψόφος καὶ ἥχος βίασις, καὶ παραχρῆμα, ὡς ἀστραπὴ πυρός, ἀπέττη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ δάιμων, θρηνιτικῶς τὸν ἀέρα περιερχόμενος.

5. The deposition of the relics in the church. δοξασάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ τούτῳ τὸν φιλάνθρωπον κύριον λαβὼν τὸ λείψανον ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἀμα τῷ κλήρῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπίσκοπείῳ ἀνήγαγον, κάκεισε διαφόρων ἀσθενειῶν διάφοροι τῶν συρρεόντων ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐν πολυτίμῳ λάρνακι μύροις τούτον κατατίθεσαν¹ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκόμισαν. καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶν νυχθημέροις δοξολογίας ποιήσαντες, οὕτως ἔκαστος φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ σύμμικτοι εἰς τὰ ἵδια ἵεσαν, μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν ἱάσεις ἔκειτε ἐπιτελοῦνται πολλαῖ, εἰς δόξαν τῆς παναγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν.

6. Concluding exhortation. τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίᾳ πάντα γράψωμεν, καὶ ποιήσωμεν, καὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πατέρων τὸν ἀκηλίδωτον βίον, καὶ μικρὸν δεῖν ἄσταρκον καὶ ἀσώματον, ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐντυπώσαντες, κλαύσωμεν καὶ θρηνήσωμεν τὸ χάωνον ἡμῶν εἰδότες, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ἀγαθὸν μαλακὸν καὶ ἀναδυόμενον ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἄπαξ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἐν

¹ sic.



κόσμῳ ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὐκέτι περὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ματαιοπονίας ἔαυτοὺς ἀπησχόλουν, ἀλλ' ὁσημέρᾳ πυρὶ προσλαμβάνοντες, καὶ ταῖς ἀναβάσεσιν ὥσπερ θεούμενοι τὰ κάλλη τῶν ὄρωμένων, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν εὐθηνίαν ὡς σκιὰν παρέτρεχον, καὶ τὰς μερίμνας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ τᾶλλα, οἷς οἱ φιλοκτήμονες καὶ φιλόύλοι ηδονται, ὡς ἐμπόδιον τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀπεστρέφοντο μονολόγιστον κεκτημένοι διαγωγὴν καὶ μονότροπον, τὴν δυσεύρετον καὶ σπανίοις ἄρτι γινωσκομένην· οὐ γὰρ τρυφῆς ἐπεμελῶντο, οὐ χιτῶσιν ἀπαλοῖς ἐπετέρποντο, ἢ σωματικὴν ἔζήτουν ἀνάπταυσιν· οὐδὲ κτήσεις ἐπόθουν καὶ ἐπικτήσεις καὶ πλατυσμούς, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρου ἔτρεχον τοῦ νοητοῦ, ὃς ἐστι Χριστὸς ἢ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς οὐρανίους ἐδέχοντο τρυφάς, καὶ παρακλήσεις, ὡν κόρος τοῖς γευσαμένοις οὐκ ἐστι· ὅθεν καὶ τοιαύτας εἰλήφασι χάριτας, καὶ κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων τὰ νικητήρια ἔχουσιν. Ιδε γὰρ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ θεαρέστου τούτου βίου ἀκροατὴς οἶν φωστῆρα τηλαυγῆ καὶ παγκόσμιον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς τοῦτο θείον ὄρος ἔξηνεγκεν, ὃς ἀγρυπνίᾳ, καὶ πόνῳ, καὶ γυμνότητι, καὶ ἀστιάᾳ, διηνεκεῖ τε πένθη καὶ συντριβῇ καρδίας, ἐν δ्लοις ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔαυτὸν ἐκδούς, ἀνώτερος γέγονε καὶ λογισμῶν, καὶ παθῶν, καὶ δαιμόνων, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ πέφθακε τὸ τῶν ὀρεκτῶν ἔσχατον, τὴν ἄκραν λέγω πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὴν πρώτην καὶ μόνην μακαριότητα· ἣς ἀξιωθείημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔργῳ τὴν τούτου πολιτείαν μιμούμενοι, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θεὸν προτερήμασιν ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενοι, ἵνα καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ γερῶν ἐπιτύχωμεν παρὰ τῆς ἀεννάου πηγῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· φέρετε πᾶσα δόξα, τιμή, καὶ προσκύνησις, σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ καὶ παναγάθῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

CHAPTER II

EUTHYMIUS OF THESSALONICA

THE life of Euthymius really brings the monks of Mount Athos into the full light of history. It is a document of primary importance, and there is no reason to doubt that it was really written, as it claims to be, by Basil, a disciple of Euthymius, who afterwards became Archbishop of Thessalonica early in the tenth century. Various writers on Mount Athos have referred to its importance and have published extracts from it, generally in a modern Greek paraphrase; but any reference to these has been rendered unnecessary by the excellent edition of Père Louis Petit,¹ which gives a text based on Cod. Athous Laur. Δ 79 (a MS. of the twelfth century of which, in ignorance of the projected edition of P. Louis, I took a copy in 1908 intending to publish it in the present book), with a partial collation of Cod. Athous Vatoped. 546 (which was written in 1422, but in the opinion of Père Louis Petit often has a better text than the earlier MS.), and with a complete collation of Cod. Athous Pantel. 207, a MS. of the nineteenth century.

¹ *Vie et office de Saint-Euthyme le jeune*, texte grec publié par le R. P. Louis Petit, A.A. Paris, A. Picard et fils, 1904, part of the *Bibliothèque Hagiographique Orientale*, edited by Léon Clugnet.

Euthymius was born in 823 at Opso (or Hopso), an unknown town near Ancyra, and was given by his parents the name of Nicetas. When he was seven years old (i. e. in 830-1) his father died, leaving his wife to bring up Nicetas and his two sisters, Maria and Epiphania. When he was sixteen years old he married a certain Euphrosyne, and became the father of a daughter, Anastaso. Two years later he felt increasingly drawn to the monastic life, and on Sept. 15, 841, deserted his family in that curious manner which forms the first stage in so many lives which have afterwards been canonized.¹ From this time his life may be divided into six periods, (1) life on Mount Olympus, (2) life on Mount Athos as a hermit, (3) on Mount Athos as the head of a laura, (4) at Brastamou as the head of a laura, (5) at Peristerai as the head of a monastery, and finally (6) as a hermit on Mount Athos and on the Island Hiera.

(1) *Life on Mount Olympus.*² After leaving his family he went to the Mysian Olympus, and approached the famous Johannicius,³ with whom he stayed for a time, and began to earn a reputation for virtue, but shortly afterwards moved on to a neighbouring monastery, presided over by a monk called Johannes, who may perhaps be identified with the Abbot of Antidius, frequently mentioned in the life of Johannicius. Here he took the monastic vows, receiving the name of Euthymius,

¹ Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-19.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-27.

³ See the *Acta Sanctorum* for November, tom. 2, pp. 811-485. Johannicius died in 846.

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and soon afterwards was sent on to the convent of Pissadinon, presided over by a monk named Nicolaus.¹

This seems to have been a regular monastery, not merely a laura, but it cannot be identified with any foundation mentioned in the life of Johannicius. He was successively muleteer, cook, servant to the steward, and waggoner. In these occupations he behaved exemplarily, and employed his leisure in learning to read, and in religious exercises. But after fifteen years of this life the peace of the church was disturbed by the schism which arose in 858 owing to the rival claims of Ignatius and Photius to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the monastery of Pissadinon was broken up, as the Abbot Nicolaus thought that Ignatius had been improperly driven out, and refused communion with Photius. Apparently this rendered the Abbot's position untenable, and he and the leading monks left the monastery. None of those who remained felt able to take the leadership, and Euthymius was attracted to the life of a hermit. He had heard of Mount Athos as a suitable place for solitary life, and decided to go there. But he had not yet received the 'great Schema',² and in

¹ In Cod. Vat. 672, f. 97–98 there are encomiums by Psellus on a monk named Nicolaus on Mount Olympus: but he is described as the *καθηγούμενον τῆς ἐν τῷ Ὄλύμπῳ μονῆς τῆς ὥραιᾶς πηγῆς*.

² It must be remembered that among the Basilican monks there are two grades, the *μικρὸν σχῆμα*, which is given with a tonsure, and the *μέγα* or *ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα*. At present the latter is frequently not taken until extreme old age, or even just before death. Both these grades are quite independent of

the absence of Nicolaus, and owing to the death of Johannes who had given him the tonsure, he did not at first know how to obtain it. Ultimately, however, he turned to a hermit named Theodore, who is perhaps also mentioned in the life of Johannicius,¹ and after eight days' preparation obtained ordination. He then started for Mount Athos with a companion named Theosterictus. On his way he passed through Nicomedia (not at first sight the most direct route to Mount Athos, but it was no doubt then, as it certainly is now, easier to go round by Constantinople), and then, for the first time since his departure from Opso, thought of his deserted family, and sent a message to them telling them of his action, and recommending them to follow his example.

The result of his message was that his mother, sisters, and wife embraced a monastic life, leaving only his daughter Anastaso, who remained 'in the world' in order to prevent the family from dying out, and became the mother of a son and three daughters.

(2) *Life on Mount Athos as a hermit.*² Euthymius and Theosterictus reached Mount Athos in safety, but the latter soon returned to Olympus, and Euthymius joined an Armenian named Joseph, whom he found already established as a hermit. With Joseph he began the usual ascetic life, and for

sacerdotal rank: Euthymius, for instance, was not yet a deacon, nor did he become one for many years.

¹ Vita Johannicij, *op. cit.*, pp. 366 ff.

² Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-32.

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forty days they tried to live as cattle, moving about on their hands and knees and eating the grass.¹

At the end of the forty days Euthymius proposed that they should live in a cave for three years. To this Joseph consented, but the opposition of the lower creation was so pronounced that at the end of a year he came out, leaving Euthymius to finish the three years alone. The result was that the fame of Euthymius's vow spread, and when he emerged from the cave a number of monks gathered round him, and he became the head of a laura.

(3) *The laura of Euthymius on Mount Athos.*²

There are no chronological data in the life of Euthymius to fix accurately the beginning of this period of his life, but the laura must have been founded about four years after Euthymius left Olympus; this cannot have been earlier than 862, and probably was at least one year later. It seems to have been the usual type of a loosely knit together body of monks, gathered round a leader, and assembling for religious services, but not otherwise living in common, and possessing no monastic buildings.

On two occasions Euthymius left the laura. The first time was in consequence of a message brought

¹ The reason given for this strange form of asceticism is a perverted interpretation of Ps. xlix. (LXX, xlvi.) 12, 20. 'Man being in honour hath no understanding: he is compared to the cattle that have no intelligence, and is made like unto them'; and the idea is that, by really living like cattle, they might perhaps recover the lost gift of the likeness to God ($\eta\ kai'\ eikôva\ \chi\rho\rho\iota s$), and so, by being 'made like unto' the cattle and by having 'no understanding', they might come to 'be in honour'.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-7.

to him by Theosterictus from Theodore, the hermit who had given Euthymius the 'great Schema', asking him to come and bring him to Mount Athos. Euthymius at once journeyed to Olympus, where he found that Theodore was exceedingly ill. However, he managed to bring him to Athos, and, when the life of the laura proved too severe, made him a cell at Macrosina, a locality which is now unknown, but is described by Basil, the writer of the Life, as 'near the villages'. It was probably therefore not far from the north end of the mountain. Shortly before his death Theodore moved to Thessalonica, and was buried there in the church of St. Sozon, and this induced Euthymius to leave his laura for the second time in order to visit the tomb. Here his fame had preceded him, and he became the centre of a crowd of admirers who tried to kiss him, expecting to derive from his touch some miraculous benefit. In order to avoid this annoyance he went a short distance out of the city, and took up his position on a pillar (in the way made famous by Simeon Stylites), on which he was 'raised visibly nearer to God' and he could preach his lessons separated by a safe distance from his admirers. His preaching met with success, but the life did not please him; so he returned to Athos after commanding the care of Theodore's tomb to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, who was also named Theodore. This Archbishop appears as a signatory of the Council of Constantinople in 869, and was also present at the installation of Theopiste (daughter of St. Theodora) as Abbess in

the previous year, but there is no evidence as to the year in which he became Archbishop; it would seem from the data in the life of Euthymius that his visit to Thessalonica must have taken place not earlier than 863, and more probably as late as 865; it is therefore probable that Theodore¹ became Archbishop of Thessalonica at least as early as 865 and perhaps earlier. Before leaving Thessalonica Euthymius was ordained deacon, and, it would seem, priest. M. Petit in his edition of the Life thinks that the ordination was in the first place only to the diaconate, and that priest's orders were given later. It is, however, surely more probable that they were given simultaneously, for the reason alleged is the difficulty of Communion in a desert place in the absence of a priest.

On his return to Mount Athos Euthymius stayed for 'some years' in his laura, but after a time the love of solitude returned, and taking with him two companions, Symeon and Johannes Kolobos, he went to the island of Neon (now St. Eustratius), which can be seen in the distance from Mount Athos. Here, however, he can scarcely be said to have settled, for soon after reaching the island the monks were captured by Arabs. Either miraculous intervention or the superstitions² of the Arabs

¹ M. Louis Petit has a note on Theodore in the *Échos de l'Orient* (iv, 1901, pp. 2, 18 f.).

² It must be remembered that Mohammedans are forbidden by their law to interfere with monks or priests. This fact, which is often forgotten by those who think of Islam as a persecuting religion, explains why monks were usually released, and why

helped them : for the Arab ship made slow progress, and thinking that this was due to the malign influence of the monks, the Arabs took them and disembarked them on the island. The monks followed up their good fortune by demanding the return of their baggage (' implements, hair shirts and books' says the writer), and in the end attained their object, as the baggage ship was also driven back to the island. This incident is an admirable example of the way in which the simplest incident assumed a miraculous character to monastic eyes. For there is no reason to doubt the substantial truth of the narrative ; there is nothing miraculous¹ in a shift of wind or a delaying current anywhere in the neighbourhood of Athos ; and in releasing the monks and restoring their property the Arabs were only obeying the precepts of Islam, which they had been tempted to forget. But what is here obvious is not always so clear, and there is probably much history in the *Acta Sanctorum* irrecoverably concealed by the miraculous explanations which have been added to it.

After their escape from the Arabs Euthymius and his friends had no desire to remain on the island, and returned to Mount Athos. But even here safety was no longer attainable : a raid was made on the mountain, and some monks were captured :

the monasteries in Macedonia were not, as a rule, destroyed, unless they were too obviously used as fortresses.

¹ Experience has almost made me inclined to regard as miraculous a voyage round Mount Athos in a sailing boat which is *not* prolonged by these variations.

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Euthymius felt that it was unwise to remain, and the laura was disbanded. The monks who decided to leave Athos separated into three groups. One, headed by Symeon, went to Greece; another followed Johannes Kolobos to Siderocausia (probably not far from Athos); and the third went with Euthymius himself to Brastamou, the modern Brasta in Chalcidice near Polygorus. Of the first group nothing more is known; the second had a short but important history which is discussed in the next chapter; and of the third we know only what is told us in the Life of Euthymius. The date of these events cannot be fixed: it must lie somewhere between 863, the earliest possible date for Euthymius' visit to Thessalonica, and 871, the date of the foundation of St. Andreas at Peristerai (see p. 50). As he was 'some years' on Mount Athos after the visit to Thessalonica, 866 seems the earliest possible date for the foundation of the laura at Brastamou, and 867 or even 868 is perhaps more probable.

(4) *The laura of Euthymius at Brastamou.*¹ Euthymius' new foundation seems to have approached almost more nearly to the nature of a convent than to that of a laura. He built cells for the monks, and frequently visited them, but personally he preferred to live in a ravine some distance away. His fame spread and attracted many visitors. Among them was a certain Onuphrius, who is mentioned as a distinguished ascetic. Of course this is not the Egyptian who is mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*,

¹ *Op. cit.*, 87-8.

and nothing more is known of St. Onuphrius of Athos, but that such a person really existed need not be doubted, for in the second 'typicon' of the mountain one of the signatories is that of the Abbot of Onuphrius, and Peter the Athonite is very often accompanied in the pictures on Mount Athos by Onuphrius. One may suspect that originally it was Onuphrius, the Athonite, not the Egyptian, who was thus celebrated, but the matter is complicated by the fact that the feasts of Peter the Athonite and Onuphrius of Egypt fall on the same day—June 12.¹

Euthymius seems at this time to have led rather a restless life wandering about the ravines of Athos, and at intervals visiting his laura at Brastamou, among the monks of which was Joseph his old Armenian friend, whose relics, preserved in the cave in which he had died, the writer of the Life says that he had seen. This would seem to imply that Basil, the writer of the Life, was once a monk at Brastamou.

During one of Euthymius' periods of retirement it was revealed to him that he should leave his laura and found a monastery on the site of an ancient church of St. Andrew at Peristerai near Thessalonica; therefore taking with him his friends Ignatius and Ephraim from Brastamou he departed for Thessalonica.

(5) *Euthymius' monastery at Peristerai.*² He had no difficulty in finding Peristerai, a village about four hours to the east of Thessalonica, and recognized a fountain as identifying it with the place which he had seen in his vision, and after some digging

¹ Did they always do so?

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 38–48.

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at a spot which he indicated the remains of an old church were discovered. Aided by the money and labour of the pious, but hindered by demons who contrived frequent accidents, he built a monastery on the spot,¹ and succeeded in finishing it in 871. The new foundation was liberally endowed and furnished by the neighbouring laity, and soon attracted many monks. Among them was Basilius,² the writer of the Life, who, however, received the tonsure from Euthymius not in the monastery, but in the church of St. Demetrius at Servilia (now Ormulia), on the peninsula Longos, where there seems to have been a kind of hermitage used by the monks.

For fourteen years Euthymius ruled the monastery, and no doubt became a person of considerable importance, but the Life gives us no historical information, though it supplies interesting specimens of his progress, sermons, wonderful cures, and prophetic insight—foretelling, for instance, to Basilius that he would become a bishop. But towards the close of this time, either in 882 or 883, he seems to have taken some part in a settlement between the Erissiotes, the monastery of his old friend Johannes Kolobos, and the hermits of Mount Athos, for his name appears among the signatures to the agreement which was ultimately reached. A full account³ of this agreement and the controversy to which it put an end will be given in the next chapter.

¹ M. Petit mentions that Prof. Kinch, of Copenhagen, has found the ruins of this monastery: see *Festskrift til J. L. Ussing i anledning hans 80 aarige födselsdag*, Copenhagen, 1900, and *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1902, pp. 663 f.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 46–7.

³ See pp. 68–70.

About 883 Euthymius again began to be restless, and summoned to Peristerai his daughter's family (the date is fixed by the statement that it was forty-two years after he had left his family and wife), and made his grandson, Methodius, Abbot of Peristerai, and his granddaughter, Euphemia, abbess of a convent which he built on ground bought for the purpose. The relics and altars of these foundations were consecrated by Methodius, Archbishop of Thessalonica. The date of this archbishop's consecration is not known, but it must have been after 882, when Gregory (see p. 82) was in office. He seems to have died in 889.

(6) *Euthymius' last days as a hermit.*¹ After thus settling his affairs Euthymius returned to his old ascetic life. First he went back to the pillar on which he lived during his first visit to Thessalonica, then he retreated to Mount Athos, but as he was constantly pursued by disciples he finally went on May 7 to the little island of Hiera, probably the modern Ginra, not far from Volo. He was accompanied by only a single monk, Georgius, and died on the island on October 15. His relics were then brought to Thessalonica by the monks Paulus and Blasius, who went to Hiera for the purpose on January 13. The year of his death is difficult to fix. The writer says that it was in the second indiction that he went to Hiera. This ought to be either 884 or 898. The former seems rather early, for it was only in 883 that he summoned his family, but the latter seems equally too late, though

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 48–51.

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M. Louis Petit accepts it, and so allows fourteen years for his last period of life as a hermit. Personally, I should prefer the early date, and suppose that the stay on the pillar and on Mount Athos only lasted a few weeks; for the impression given by the Life is that Euthymius did not live long after leaving Peristerai. It is, however, of course possible that the 'second indiction' is wrong. Perhaps it was originally 'eighth indiction', as a confusion between β and η is not uncommon.

The importance of the information concerning Mount Athos contained in this story needs no emphasis. The most interesting points may be summed up as follows: (1) as early as 859 when Euthymius went first to Athos there were already hermits there—for instance, his Armenian friend, Joseph—and, as we know from other sources, Peter the Athonite was also living at the time; but there is no reference to a convent or even to a laura of monks. (2) A few years later Euthymius himself was the centre of a definite laura. (3) Although Euthymius, Johannes Kolobos, and Symeon left the laura with some of the monks it is more probable than not that others remained, and, as the next chapter will show, there was a considerable number of monks or hermits on the mountain between 870 and 880. (4) There is no reference to a definite monastery as distinct from a laura, and no mention of Clementos—the monastery which the Life of Peter the Athonite states to have been in existence c. 890.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

THE MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREAS AT PERISTERAI

THE foundation of Euthymius at Peristerai had not a very long or distinguished history. The last that we read of it in the life of Euthymius is that the saint, on leaving the monastery, appointed his grandson Methodius to be abbot. Seeing that this Methodius must have been under thirty, and was probably not older than twenty-five, the wisdom of this act is open to question, but whether it led directly to bad results is unknown. What, however, is certain is that during the next eighty years the monastery fell into bad hands and became disreputable. This is proved by the *Typicon* of Athanasius the Athonite, in which it is stated that the monks had lived for a long time in an absolute disregard of monastic propriety. At this point the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas intervened; he was the patron of Athanasius and had promised to endow his new foundation, the monastery now known as 'the Laura'. He therefore seized the opportunity of suppressing a scandal and helping a friend by a single stroke of statesmanship, and transferred the control of St. Andreas to Athanasius.

The effect of this transference is only known to us from one source—Athanasius' *Typicon*. He was entirely satisfied with the results achieved, though we may justifiably doubt whether the monks of Andreas would have endorsed his judgement. Exactly what he did is unknown, but at any rate in 970, when the *Typicon* was written, a certain Stephanus was Abbot of St. Andreas, and enjoyed the complete confidence of Athanasius. We may surmise that he had been sent from the Laura to carry out a plan of

reform. It would seem, however, that the reformation was somewhat superficial, for Athanasius was not prepared to recommend the appointment of any further abbot after the death of Stephanus. He directed that Stephanus should not be disturbed in his lifetime, nor be called upon for his accounts, but that after his death the management of the convent should devolve directly upon the abbot of the Laura.

It is easy to see that this arrangement boded ill for the future independence of St. Andreas, and that the quiet and peace which Athanasius promised to the monks was merely that which the tiger offers to the lamb.

There remained, however, one source of protection—an appeal to the Metropolitan of Thessalonica, to whom Euthymius had especially commended his foundation. We have no evidence as to the date when this appeal was made, but a Chrysobull of Constantine IX, alluded to by Gerasimos Smyrnakes, seems to mark the end of a struggle between the Lauriates on the one hand, and the Peristeriates supported by the Metropolitan of Thessalonica on the other, in which the emperor intervened. According to this the emperor removed the monastery of St. Andreas from the protection of the bishop, and handed it over absolutely to the Laura.

This completed the work of Nicephorus and the ruin of the convent, which became merely a source of income for the Laura.

Its further history is unknown : at present the Laura has no property in the district of Peristerai, so that it either lost it in one of the many periods of unrest in Macedonia, or sold it to some one else.

I append the extract from the *Typicon* of Athanasius and the statement of Gerasimos Smyrnakes, on which this reconstruction of the history of the monastery is based.

A. EXTRACT FROM "THE TYPICON OF ATHANASIOS" CONCERNING THE MONASTERY OF ST. ANDREAS IN PERISTERAI. [P. MEYER,
Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster,
pp. 119-21.]

Εἰδέναι οὖν χρή, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν Περιστερῶν ἡτοι τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ κορυφαίου τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων Ἀνδρέου μονῆς, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσίαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν τελούσης κατὰ τὴν τῶν δύο εὐσεβῶν χρυσοβουλλίων περιοχήν τε καὶ διάταξιν τοῦ τε ἀοιδίμου καὶ τρισμάκαρος βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Νικηφόρου καὶ τοῦ ἔτι περιόντος εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ νυνὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα διέποντος διατιθεμένους ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔδοξε διατάξασθαι· βουλόμεθα τοίνυν Στέφανον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον μοναχὸν καὶ καθηγούμενον, καθὼς καὶ προνοεῖται καὶ ἄρχει τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, μένειν ἀδιάσειστον καὶ ἀλογαρίαστον, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐπαδείας τινὰ τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς μετακινεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ παραλύειν τῆς ἐπιστασίας τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, ἐν πάσῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐδούλευσεν ἡμῖν ὅλη τῇ ἴσχυὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐγχωροῦν μεγάλως ἀνέπαυσε καὶ τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμε καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ὑποταγὴν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ βελτιώσεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ μονῇ πεποιηκέναι φαίνεται· ὁ δέ γε πειρώμενος, μετὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν, τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς μετακινῆσαι αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλως πως καθ' οἰονδήποτε τρόπον θλίψιν τὴν οἰανοῦν αὐτῷ ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀλλότριος ἔστω τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ζωαρχικῆς καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος, ἔχέτω δὲ τὴν κατάραν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐντέλλομαι καὶ μημονεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτελουμέναις ἀδιαλείπτως θείαις λειτουργίαις παρὰ τῶν τῆς Λαύρας πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ζῶντας καὶ μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτησίως μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ βίου μετάστασιν τοῦ εἰρημένου μοναχοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου καθηγουμένου, ἐβουλόμεθα καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προεστῶτος προβληθῆναι καὶ αὖθις ἡγούμενον· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντη κατημέληται τὰ τῆς μοναδικῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρὰ τῶν προηγησαμένων

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ἐκ μακροῦ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἀδιαφορίᾳ πολλῆ καὶ ἀμελίᾳ κατέχονται σχεδὸν ἄπαντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς μοναχοί, συνείδομεν οἰκονομίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ πρὸς ἓνα βλέπειν καὶ ὑφ' ἕνα τελεῖν, ἥγουν τὸν προεστῶτα τῆς Λαύρας, πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ δηλουμένῃ μονῇ, ὥστε τῇ μοναρχίᾳ συνελαθῆναι πρὸς τὸ πνευματικώτερον, ἔν τε ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ ψαλμῳδίαις καὶ ἀναγνώσειν, ἔν τε βρώμασι καὶ πόμασιν, ὡς ἡ δουλεία καὶ ὁ κόπος, ἡ ἡ δόδοιπορία καὶ ἡ ἡλικία, ἡ ἡ νόσος ἐκάστου καὶ ἡ ὑγίεια κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπατεῖ προβάλλεσθαι δὲ διοριζόμεθα παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Λαύρας προεστῶτος, ἐκ τῆς Λαύρας, οἰκονόμους τε χρησιμωτάτους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, διασκέψεται καὶ δοκιμασίᾳ πολλῆ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑφ' αὐτὸν μοναχῶν, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν διοικονομεῖσθαι προσηκόντως τὰ σωματικώτερα, τοῖς δὲ καταρτίζεσθαι καὶ συγκροτεῖσθαι τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφοὺς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀρετὴν λόγοις τε καὶ τρόποις καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ θεὸν πράξεσι· τούτου γὰρ γενησομένου, σὺν θεῷ φάναι, πέποιθα πολλὴν παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀναφανῆναι κοινωνικῶς καὶ μοναρχικῶς τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ὠφέλειαν μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Λαύρας μήτε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πολλάκις δηλωθείσης μονῆς ἐκ διαρχίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μηδὲν διαφερομένων, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀγάπης συναγομένων ἔνωσιν καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην τῷ ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ μόνην τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἀφορᾶν, καὶ εἴ τις ἡμῶν τὴν ἐπωφελῆ ταύτην καὶ σωτήριον οἰκονομίαν πειραθῆ καταλῦσαι ποτε, ἀλλότριος ἔστω τῆς ἀγάπης, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ἔστιν ὁ θεός.

B. EXTRACT FROM GERASIMOS SMYRNAKES, το "Αγιον" Όρος, p. 45.

. . . καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου [τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου] παρεχωρεῖτο τῇ Λαύρᾳ τὸ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ μοναστήριον τοῦ ἀγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου ὅλως ἀνεξάρτητον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης . . .



CHAPTER III

JOHANNES KOLOBOS, HIS MONASTERY, AND THE HERMITS OF MOUNT ATHOS

It will be remembered that Johannes Kolobos, the friend of Euthymius, is mentioned in the life of the latter as leading away part of the laura of monks on Mount Athos and settling at Siderocausia. The life of Euthymius tells us no more about him ; but he, and a monastery which he founded, appear several times in a series of documents referring to Mount Athos, the interpretation of which affords almost the only clue which we possess to the history of the mountain during the period immediately after the dispersal of the laura of Euthymius.

These documents, which will be found on pp. 76–86, are as follows :—

- (a) Part of a Chrysobull of Basil the Macedonian (before A. D. 881). (See Appendix A.)
- (b) The report of a Thessalonian official, named Thomas, on a boundary dispute between the Erissiotes and the Athonites (A. D. 881). (See Appendix B.)
- (c) The agreement arrived at in this dispute by the two parties (A. D. 881). (See Appendix C.)
- (d) The official decision, ratifying this agreement, by the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (A. D. 882). (See Appendix D.)

(e) A Chrysobull of Leo the Wise (? A. D. 900).
(See Appendix E.)

It is unfortunate that we only possess a little fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil, which was probably given to Johannes Kolobos himself, but the greater part of its contents and the events which led up to its promulgation can be reconstructed from the Chrysobull of Leo. The facts appear to be these:—

After the separation of Euthymius and Johannes Kolobos and the partial dispersal of their laura on Mount Athos, the most important events on Mount Athos and the neighbourhood were (1) the foundation of a monastery by Johannes Kolobos near Mount Athos, and (2) the constant disturbance of the Athonite lauras and hermitages by the Erissiotes.

The proof of the foundation of this monastery, to which I shall refer in future as Kolobou, is established by the direct references in the Chrysobulls of Leo and Romanus. The date of its foundation and its exact position are less easily determined, and must be considered separately.

The date of the foundation of Kolobou. The limits between which this date must be fixed are 866 and 881. The former is the date before which the separation of Johannes from Euthymius cannot be placed, the latter is the date before which the Chrysobull of Basil was given, and it is plain from the Chrysobull of Leo that when this was given the monastery was in existence. It is obvious that neither of the extreme dates is probable. In dis-

cussing the chronology of the life of Euthymius (p. 48) I have shown that 867 or 868 are probable dates for the separation of the two monks, and I think the impression gained by reading the documents referring to the boundary dispute which was closed in 881 (see Appendices B, C, D), and the allusions made in them to the Chrysobull, is that this had been given some time previously.

There is some slight evidence for dating the Chrysobull A. D. 872¹ or 875, and these dates seem to me not improbable.

If then we allow two years for Johannes to establish himself in his new home and for a sufficient number of monks to gather round him, and accept 872–5 as the date of the Chrysobull, we can fix the foundation of Kolobou with fairness between 869 and 873. The history of Johannes thus presents a striking but quite natural parallel to that of Euthymius. Each left Mount Athos with a small following of monks who had belonged to the dispersed laura, and each founded a new monastery within the course of the next few years. One wonders whether Symeon, the leader of the remaining party of monks from Mount Athos, did the same in Greece.

¹ Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *op. cit.*, p. 22, gives this date. Kosmas Vlachos, *op. cit.*, p. 19, gives 885, but this is probably an unacknowledged quotation from Gedeon, *op. cit.*, p. 79, who also gives 885—probably a misprint for 875 derived from MS. Panteleemon, 281, p. 208 (a nineteenth-century document), which gives 875, induction 2. This cannot be right as it stands, but if we suppose the frequent confusion of minuscule β and γ the induction would correspond to the year.

The position of Kolobou. The two Greek monks Gerasimos Smyrnakes¹ and Kosmas Vlachos² differ completely on this point. The former says that Kolobou was on the Megale Vigla (see map), and the latter that it was to the north of Erisso.³ Neither gives any reasons or discusses the point, but I think that the evidence for both views can be derived from the documents relating to the boundary dispute and from the Chrysobull of Leo.

The evidence for a position on the Megale Vigla is as follows:—The decision of the Governor of the Thema of Thessalonica (see Appendix D) in describing the boundary line between the Eriissiates and the Athonites says that it starts at the beginning of the Ammoulian gulf, runs up a ravine as far as the land of the monastery of St. Christina to a group of trees, then crosses over to another ravine, goes over the hill and comes down to Globutzista (the present Chromitza, according to tradition, which I see no reason to doubt), goes over the ravine to a clump of trees and straight on towards the sea as far as an old *γύοτρεπνν*,⁴ then bends towards the neighbouring neck of the hill on which is the old wall of Kolobou which is within the land of the Athonites.

To follow this boundary in detail is difficult. I have

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Or Hierissos: the latter is no doubt the original form, but I adopt Erisso because it is the name which is now always used—at least in my experience.

⁴ The Proegoumenos Chrysostomos tells me that *γύοτρεπνν* is a well; the word is strange to me.

never been to the spot; and the map does not give quite sufficient detail, but the general course which it implies is clear enough to show that the 'old' wall of Kolobou was a little beyond Chromitza on the Megale Vigla. The obvious conclusion seems to be that the monastery stood within the wall.

This suggestion finds a superficial support in the Chrysobull of Leo, which confirms the right of the monks of Kolobou to graze cattle in the lands of the Kamenia, not far from the Vigla, though, as will be shown, the real meaning of the Chrysobull probably points in another direction.

The evidence for a position near Erisso, between it and Mount Athos, is to be found in the report of Thomas Kaspax in A.D. 881 (see Appendix B). The beginning of this document is unfortunately missing, but it is clear that the boundary between the lands belonging to the monastery and to the peasantry had been fixed, but not that between the peasantry and Mount Athos. That is to say that starting from the land side and going towards the mountain there was first the monastery of Kolobou, secondly the land of the peasantry, and thirdly the land of the monks of Mount Athos: the boundary between the first and the second had been fixed, but not that between the second and third.

This view is confirmed by the statement of Thomas a little later that the Athonites had claimed that their jurisdiction began at the boundary of the Castrum of Erisso, not merely at the boundary of the district, so that their land

began with the boundary of the monastery of Kolobou; for this clearly implies that the boundary of the castrum and of the monastery were identical.

As between the two views as to the locality of Kolobou, it therefore seems to me that the evidence is in favour of Erisso. The exact spot within the limits of Erisso seems impossible to define, but at all events the boundary of the monastery's jurisdiction on the Athos side was the boundary of the castrum.¹ The monastery itself must have been either within or on the other side of the castrum.

But, it may be said, what about the 'old wall of Kolobou' mentioned above as on the Vigla? Is it not possible to argue that the monastery itself was on the Vigla and that the castrum of Erisso was only under its jurisdiction?

The answer to this suggestion is to be found in a consideration of the Chrysobull of Leo (see Appendix E). Here it is stated that the monastery of Kolobou possesses the control of the domain of Erisso, and the pasturage only of the Kamena with their vineyards and orchards. The meaning, in the light of the documents of the boundary dispute, must be that the monastery has two sets of possessions, one in Erisso and the other near the Kamena (close to the Vigla), and that the monastery itself is near the first, not the second. Here we have the true explanation of the 'old wall of Kolobou' in the decision of Katakalon Kaspax; it was the wall, not of the

¹ This is, no doubt, what Kosmas Vlachos means by the northward part of Erisso.

monastery itself, but of the vineyards and orchards which belonged to it.

Subsidiary evidence that this is the true solution of the problem of the locality of Kolobou may be found in the Chrysobull of Romanus, &c. (see Appendix A to the next chapter), and in the agreement between Johannes the Georgian and the Protos of Mount Athos (see Appendix C to the next chapter). In the former document, ratifying the Chrysobull of Leo, the pasturage, &c., of the Kamena is omitted and only the jurisdiction of Erisso mentioned. This may be of importance for the history of the monastery, or merely accidental, but in any case it suggests that the monastery was at Erisso rather than on the Vigla. In the latter document it is clear that the monks of Mount Athos had been in the habit of staying in the monastery of Kolobou when they went to Erisso to buy necessities for themselves. This may possibly only mean that they stayed at Kolobou on the way, and so be compatible with a situation on the Vigla, but the plain sense is naturally that Kolobou was in Erisso.

Sideroausia and Erisso. There is therefore not much danger of error if we say that between the years 869 and 875 Johannes Kolobos founded a monastery in or close to the castrum of Erisso. The question then arises as to the relation of this foundation to that of Sideroausia mentioned in the life of Euthymius. To this no definite answer can be given, as it is impossible to determine whether Sideroausia was a district or a village. The passages

which bear on the point are (1) the reference in the life of Euthymius, cap. 26;¹ (2) the reference in the Chrysobull of Leo,² and I think that neither is quite decisive.

In the Life of Euthymius, we are told that Symeon went to Greece, Johannes to Siderocausia, and Euthymius to Brastamou. The last named is now a village and perhaps was so then, but it is obvious that Euthymius' laura was not founded exactly in a village, even if it were near to one, so that even Brastamou probably means merely the district in which the village of that name was. The analogy of the use of the wide term Greece for the destination of Symeon supports this view, and according to it Siderocausia was probably a district and may have been a name given to that in which Erisso was situated. At the same time the possibility that there was a village of that name is certainly not excluded.

In the Chrysobull we are told that the monks of Kolobou forged a document entitling them to τὰ χωρία ἀπό τε τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Χλωμοντλῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν. It does not seem plain whether Siderocausia and Chlomoutla are villages or districts. I incline to think that the latter may be the hilly district in Chalcidice at pre-

¹ Καὶ Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ μακάριος τοῖς Σιδηροκαυσίοις λεγομένοις προσοικίζεται, Συμεὼν δὲ ὁ θαυμάσιος τῇ Ἑλλάδι διαπορθμεύεται, Εὐθύμιος δὲ ὁ ἵερὸς καὶ ἡμέτερος ἐν τοῖς Βραστάμον λεγομένοις τόποις τοὺς ἑαντοῦ μετατίθησιν. Petit, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² p. 85. Appendix E.

sent called Cholomondas, but this is not certain, and I fear that the exact identification of the localities in this neighbourhood could only be accomplished by somewhat prolonged wanderings from village to village. The local tradition¹ of Mount Athos does not appear to be unanimous. Gerasimos Smyrnakes thinks that Sideroausia is a name which was given to the whole district of Chalcidice because of its mines, Kosmas Vlachos asserts that it was a village near Erisso, and M. Petit (*Vie de S. Euthyme*, p. 80) says that it is 'actuellement Μαδεμοχώρια, près de Hierisso'. None give any reason for their views. The Proegoumenos Chrysostomus of the Laura told me that Sideroausia was a district just beyond (i. e. north of ?) Erisso, and that there are in existence documents which prove this, but he never showed me any or quoted them. Still I think that the balance of probability is that he is right.

If this be so the foundation mentioned in the Life of Euthymius may be the same as that in the Chrysobull of Basil. If not, we must assume that Johannes did not stay long at Sideroausia. In any case the history of its foundation parallels that of St. Andreas at Peristerai by Euthymius. The enthusiasm of the Erissiates was aroused by Johannes as that of the Peristeriates was by Euthy-

¹ If it be a tradition: my impression is that the monks claim the prestige of the 'tradition of the mountain' for the view which they happen to be supporting, for they rarely agree with each other, and still more rarely produce proof.

mius, and land and other presents were showered on him by the pious. The crowning point was a gift from the emperor ratified by a Chrysobull.

The Chrysobull given to Johannes Kolobos. Whether he went to the emperor primarily for the sake of obtaining endowment for his monastery must remain doubtful. At any rate he not merely succeeded in obtaining the gift of the domain of Erisso, but also pleaded the cause of the hermitages and lauras on Mount Athos so skilfully that the emperor's Chrysobull protected the Athonites against all aggression or intrusion, and appointed Johannes and his foundation as the protectors of the mountain. Such is the story given in the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E) which confirmed that of Basil. It appears from this that the hermits and monks of the mountain had been suffering from intrusion, obviously from the laity of Erisso, and this fact seems to dispose of a suggestion, first made by Uspenski,¹ that the gift of the domain of Erisso implies that it was deserted at this time. The general tone of the Chrysobull of Leo also suggests that the primary reason of the Chrysobull being granted, and the possibility of its being asked for, was this aggression on Mount Athos by the Erixiotes.

¹ This suggestion is rendered plausible by Uspenski owing to a mistake by which he dates the boundary dispute about 984. Gerasimos Smyrnakes, not quite grasping this, has introduced two disputes, in which the same names occur, one in 881 and the other in 984.

The importance of the Chrysobull to Johannes is obvious; it at once made him the Hegoumenos of a rich and powerful monastery, and the protector of the whole of Mount Athos. Its value to the hermits and the monks of the lauras was no less. Previously their position had been anomalous; each little laura—to some extent each hermitage—implied some degree of clearing the land and cultivating the soil. But this also implied the creation of a more or less desirable property, and the question of the right to exclude others at once became important. No doubt there was a general tradition in favour of respecting hermits, yet this would not always go very far, and in the absence of documents they could scarcely appeal to the law for protection. But the Chrysobull regularized their position, and they could now appeal for protection to the powerful Hegoumenos of Kolobou, who controlled the district from which alone aggression was geographically possible, or, if he proved unfaithful to his trust, they could invoke the imperial help, which was pledged to them by the deed of Basil.

Thus the Chrysobull was of enormous advantage both to the Athonites and to Kolobou. But it was less excellent for the Eriissiotes who seem to have been shut out on both sides. The monks of Kolobou claimed control over the Castrum, and the monks of Mount Athos claimed all the rest. The exact division was perhaps not quite clear, but between the two sets of monks the Eriissiotes were being squeezed out of existence.

It was probably this situation which gave rise to two boundary settlements, of which the second is extant, and contains a sufficient allusion to the first to enable us roughly to reconstruct it.

The first boundary dispute, between Kolobou and the Erixiotes. The question seems to have arisen very soon as to the exact meaning of the control of the territory of Erisso which had been given by Basil ; and when the matter came before Thomas Kaspax¹ of Thessalonica he found that the boundaries of Kolobou had already been settled by other people. This settlement he ratified. It is impossible completely to reconstruct it, but I think that the general sense of the broken lines at the beginning of his report (Appendix B) can only be that when he came to investigate the district he found that it consisted of two parts, the *κλασματικὴ γῆ* and the *ἀποκληρωθεῖσα γῆ*, of which the former lay between the latter and Mount Athos, clearly defined on the west (or land) side but not demarcated towards the mountain.

This division he accepted, and ratified the arrangement by which Kolobou took all the western or landward part while the Erixiotes took all the rest. No statement is made as to what there was still further inland, or whether it was part of the domain of Erisso.

¹ This family seems to have been numerous and powerful in Thessalonica at this time ; we have in the 'Decision' (Appendix D) Katakalon the governor, Thomas the epoptes, and Stephanos of Bardanopoulos, and Zoetes or Zoektes, and there was a monastery Kaspakos on Mount Athos.

The second dispute. The arrangement described above settled the boundary between Kolobou and the Erixiotes, but Thomas had not thought it necessary to define the boundary of the Erixiotes and the Athonites, who immediately began to complain, maintaining that according to the Chrysobull of Basil their territory ran up to the boundary of Kolobou.

Judging from the fragment of the Chrysobull of Basil which remains, and from the references to it in that of Leo, the contention was technically not untenable. Basil says that the boundary of monks is to be the *ἐνορία* of Erisso, and Leo says that his father Basil had given Kolobou the right “κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν” of Erisso. Apparently Thomas Kaspax had decided that the *ἐνορία* was the Castrum, not the whole district, when he was investigating the claims of Kolobou and the Erixiotes. The Athonites probably argued that this definition of terms ought to hold good in considering their claims, and that according to it they had the control of the whole district up to the Castrum itself.

The Erixiotes, on the other hand, claimed that the Athonite border was at the Zygos, the next ridge after the Vigla: we are not told whether they produced any evidence in support of their claim.

Between these two claims Thomas Kaspax had to decide. Reading between the lines of his report one may, I think, see that he recognized the legal

strength of the Athonite position, but felt that it was bad equity to leave the Eriissiotes, as he says, without any property at all.

He therefore sent the two parties away to agree on the general outline of a division of the disputed land, which was afterwards properly drawn up and ratified by the *στρατηλάτης* Katakalon Kaspax.

The division agreed upon roughly divided the disputed ground; its general course has been already discussed (p. 60), but the mention of the monastery of Christina is noticeable.

It may mean that there was a monastery or a laura there, but perhaps more probably it only means that St. Christina—wherever that may have been—had property at that point.

It is interesting to notice that Euthymius appears to have interested himself in the matter, as his name appears among the signatures to the report of Katakalon Kaspax. What, however, did Johannes Kolobos do? The name of his monastery does not appear among the signatories, but I suspect that the signature to the agreement, 'Ιωάννου ἡγούμενου τοῦ Αθωνος, is his, and that he assumed the title in virtue of the protectorate over the mountain given him by Basil.

The settlement and its results. The position of affairs at the end of this settlement in 882 may therefore be defined as follows.

The monastery of Kolobour had obtained control over the Castrum of Erisso, and had a protectorate over the monks of Mount Athos as against all

intruders on the mountain; between the Castrum and the domain of the Athonites was a piece of land which had been allotted for public use to the inhabitants of Erisso and to certain neighbouring monasteries. Kolobou also possessed some vineyards and orchards on the Athos side of the boundary where the monastery of St. Christina also had some property, while on the other hand the Athonites had a spot called the *καθεδρα τῶν γερόντων* reserved for them in the territory of the Erissiotes. The whole arrangement was ratified by Katakalon Kaspax, the governor of the Thema of Thessalonica, and the Erissiotes paid the sum requisite to secure their property.¹

The conclusion of the settlement is the last act of Johannes Kolobos² (assuming that he is the Hegoumenos of Athos) of which we know anything. Probably, like Euthymius, he was now an old man and did not live much longer, but the history of his monastery can be traced for a little more than a century longer.

¹ This payment has surely been misunderstood by Uspenski and others who follow him. They appear to think that the Athonites had sold land to the Erissiotes and then disputed the boundaries of what they had sold. It seems to me that the point of the dispute was that the Erissiotes had bought ground from the public authorities which the Athonites claimed in virtue of an earlier deed allotting it to them.

² It is worth noticing that MSS. exist of a Life of Paisius written by him (*inc. ὡσπέρ τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ βίου . . . desin. ταῦτα εἰρήσθω*). See codd. Paris. 1093¹, 1547², suppl. 759¹. There is also a MS. in the Laura.

It cannot be said that the conduct of the monks of Kolobou reflects credit on their training. They appear first as forgers, and secondly as oppressors of the hermits of Mount Athos and their other neighbours, and lastly as losing their property because of their inhospitality.

The forgery of the Monks of Kolobou. The story of the forgery is related at the beginning of the Chrysobull of Leo (Appendix E). It appears that the monks were not satisfied with the position in which the boundaries settlement of 882 had left them. They wished for the control, not merely the protectorate, of the mountain, and for further possessions inland.

They found their opportunity at the accession of Leo in 886, and forged a document, apparently a map of some sort, which they took to the emperor together with the Chrysobull of Basil for confirmation. Leo, without looking into the matter closely, granted their request. By this means they secured control of nearly the whole mountain, and villages of (in ?) Siderocausia and Chomoutla (Cholomondas?), the monasteries of Moustaconos, Kardiognostou, and Luka, together with the meeting-place of the hermits (*καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*).

It is probably impossible to identify these places, but it is clear that the forgery was planned in the grand style, and gave the monastery of Kolobou the control of the whole of the surrounding districts.

The protest of the Athonites. As soon as the monks had obtained the imperial confirmation they began a career discreditable to themselves, oppressive to

their neighbours, and ultimately disastrous to their foundation.

They abused the hermits of the mountain, took the clearings for the benefit of their flocks, and treated the whole country as their own possession, until at last peasants and hermits made common cause and sent Andreas, ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς καὶ “πρῶτος” ἡσυχαστὴς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅρους, to intercede for them with the Emperor.

The ‘Protos’. This reference to the *πρῶτος* is of great importance for the history of the growth of the common organization of the monasteries on Mount Athos, and the question may be raised whether *πρῶτος* ought to be regarded as a title or as an epithet of *ἡσυχαστής*. In his invaluable *Hauptkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, p. 29, Dr. Ph. Meyer assumes that the former alternative is correct, and regards this passage as the earliest reference to a Protos of the mountain, though he does not quote the text. I doubt, however, whether he is justified in doing this (grammatically *πρῶτος* is here so clearly adjectival), especially as there is no evidence that the title was used elsewhere before the tenth century, though later, as Gedeon has shown (ὁ Ἀθως, p. 85), it was used in Thessaly at Meteora and at Latros, and it seems to me probable that in the Chrysobull of Leo *πρῶτος* is not the technical term which it had become by the third quarter of the tenth century (cf. *Vita Athanasii Athonitae* by Pomjalovski, pp. 20 ff.).

In any case it is noteworthy that the title must

have been quite recent, as it does not appear in the list of the signatures to the boundary settlement a few years previously. There the leader of the monks is called the *ηγούμενος τοῦ Ἀθωνος*, and, as I have said, he is perhaps identical with Johannes Kolobos.

It is, I suspect, probable that the origin of the title *πρῶτος* may be found in this controversy of the Athonites with the monks of Kolobou. The former wished to appear before the emperor, and were not able to send their usual representative, the Abbot of Kolobou, for the very good reason that he was actually the person of whom they wished to complain. They therefore selected the most prominent hermit, and the adjective by which they (or the emperor) described him was afterwards used as a title. The office, thus originated to meet a special need, was found so convenient that it was perpetuated, and was firmly established by the time of Athanasius.¹

The victory of the Athonites over Kolobou. The mission of Andreas to the emperor proved successful ; Nicephorus, the Proto-Spatharios, held an inquiry which revealed the fraud of the monks of Kolobou ; the forgery was destroyed, and the emperor gave a new Chrysobull protecting the Athonites, and tying the monks of Kolobou down closely to the original terms of the Bull of Basil. There is a significant lack of direct confirmation

¹ The later history of the office of Protos can be studied in Meyer, *l. c.*

as to the 'Protectorate' over the mountain, from which it might be assumed that the monastery lost their privilege, and nothing is especially said to the possession of the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*.

With this incident the first chapter of the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos was closed. For the history of the mountain its importance is to be found in the fact that it shows that at the beginning of the tenth century there was no definite monastery on the mountain; there were hermits, and, as we know from the life of Euthymius, some of these hermits were associated in lauras. Moreover, the necessity of defending their interests from the encroachments of the monks of Kolobou had forced them to take common action under the leadership of the most prominent of their number.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER III

A. EXTRACT FROM A CHRYSOBULL OF BASIL EARLIER THAN A. D. 881

... Τοὺς τὸν ἑρημικὸν βίον ἐλομένους καὶ τὰς καταμονὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀθωνος λεγομένῳ ὅρει ποιησαμένους, καὶ τὰς εὐτελεῖς σκηνὰς ἔκει πηξαμένους, παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωριαζόντων καὶ τῷ ὅρει τούτῳ προσομορούντων ἐπηρεαζομένους, καὶ μὴ συνγχωρουμένους καθαρῶς καὶ ἀταράχως τὰ τοῦ οἰκείου λογισμοῦ διεπιτελεῖν, ὁ θεοσυνέργητος ἡμῶν βασιλείᾳ δίκαιον ἥγησατο διὰ τοῦδε ἡμῶν τοῦ σιγιλλίου τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθορύβους καὶ ἀταράχους διάγειν, εὑχεσθαί τε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμῶν γαληνότητος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν συστήματος, ἔξασφαλιζόμεθα πάντας ἀπό τε στρατηγῶν, βασιλικῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου ἀνθρώπου τοῦ δουλείαν καταπιστευομένουν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἴδιώτας καὶ χωριάτας καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἐν τῷ μυλῶνι ἀλήθουτος, ἵνα μὴ ὑπηρεσή τις τοὺς αὐτὸὺς μοναχούς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ καθώς ἔστι τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ ἡ ἐνορία καὶ τὴν ἔσω πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὅρος εἰσέρχεσθαί τινας, μήτε ποιμένας μετὰ τῶν ποιμίων αὐτῶν, μήτε βουκόλους μετὰ τῶν βουκόλιών αὐτῶν. . . .

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski (*Востокъ Христианскій, Аѳонъ, Kiev, 1877, part 3, p. 295*), who is quoting from a MS. which is found in the library of Philotheon.

B. THE *πρᾶξις* OF THE ἐπόπτης, Θωμᾶς Κάσπαξ, AS TO THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN ERISSOS AND THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS, A. D. 881-2

... ἐπειδὴ ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ τῆς ὑποταγῆς τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ . . . ἔστι, καὶ συνήνωται τῷ ὅρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ ἡ ἀποκληρω-



θείσα γῆ τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ . . . ἡ μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων διεχωρίσθη, καὶ σύνορα ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῆς τε μονῆς καὶ τῶν χωριατῶν ἐγένετο, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διαχωρισμὸν κατέλιπον τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ δωρεὰν τὴν τοιαυτην γῆν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα, κατεῖχον οἱ χωριάται καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἐνέμοντο. οὐ μὴν προέβη πρὸ τούτου διαχωρισμὸς μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ ὄρους τον Ἀθωνος, ἵνα ἐκ τούτου ἐδείκνυτο ἔως ποῦ ἔστι ἡ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐπικράτεια, κἀκεῖθεν ἡ κλασματικὴ γῆ, ἡ παρὰ τῶν χωριών καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μοναστηρίων κατεχομένη. ἀλλ' οὐτως συγκεχωμένη καὶ ἀδιάγνωστος ὑπῆρχεν ἡ ἐκάστου δεσποτείᾳ διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκείσες ἐποπτικὴν διάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κλάσματος διάπρασιν. Ταύτην οὖν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κάστρου Ἐριστοῦ οἰκητόρων κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν διέπρασαν [Ι. διέπρασα] εἰς αὐτούς, περὶ δὲ τῶν μεταξὺ συνόρων, αὐτῶν τε τῶν ἔξωνησάντων τὴν τοῦ κλάσματος γῆν καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος διὰ τὸ τηνικαῦτα μηδεμίαν φιλονικείαν παρά τινος κινηθῆναι, οὔτε παρ' ἡμῶν περιεργότερον ἔξετάσθη ἡ ἐπολυτραγμονήθη περὶ τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ αὐτῶν.

Ἀποστείλαντες οὖν μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἐδεήθησαν τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγίους, καὶ ἐδέξαντο ὅ τε Σπρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ Τζουλᾶς, ἵνα διαχωρίσωσι τὰ δίκαια αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ Κάστρου, ἀπαιτήσωσι δὲ ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἰκήτορας, εἰς τὸ μηκέτι παρενόχλησίν τινα ἐπάγειν τοῖς μοναχοῖς. καὶ ἀποστείλαντες ἥγαγον τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ Ἐριστοῦ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἄμφω ἡμῶν ἔστησαν μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος προεβάλλοντο τὴν ἔξ ἀρχῆς δεσποτείαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κλάσματος κώδιξιν ἀναγράφεται δημόσια εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ χρυσοβουνῆλλου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Κυροῦ Βασιλείου πᾶσαν ἀδειαν καὶ ἔξουσίαν παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τὴν ἐνορίαν (τις) τοῦ Ἐριστοῦ καὶ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἐνορίαν οὐ τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ τέλους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ Κάστρου λέγοντες, ἐπειρῶντο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατοχῆς εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ

χρυσοβουλλων βοήθειαν, ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα κλασματικὰ τόπια ἴδιοτοιεῖσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον μηδὲν ἐναπομένειν τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ. Πάλιν δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκήτορες ἐνίσταντο μέχρι τοῦ Ζυγοῦ εἶναι τὴν κλασματικὴν γῆν καὶ ἔως τοῦ τοιούτου τόπου δεσπόζειν αὐτούς, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθωνίτας ἔξουσιάζειν ἀπὸ τὸν Ζυγὸν καὶ τὴν ἔσω, καὶ ἀπλῶς πολλὰ φιλονικήσαντες περὶ τούτουν. τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἀμφω στασιαζόμενον τοῦτο ἦν, τοῦ ὁρισθῆναι τόπον ἔνθα ἔμελλον γενέσθαι σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δίκαια.

Τελευταῖον οὖν οἰκείᾳ προθέσει ἡρέσθησαν διὰ τὸ ἀφιλό-νεικον (τὸ πλέον δὲ διὰ τὸ συγκεχωμένον τῆς ὑπόθεσεως καὶ ἀδιάγνωστον), καὶ διωρίσαντο τόπον ἔνθα ἔμελλον γενέσθαι τὰ σύνορα τὰ διαχωρίζοντα αὐτούς. τοῦ δὲ Στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τζουλᾶ, οὐ μην ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, κρατη-σάντων μὲν τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐπιτοπίως καὶ διαχωρίσαι αὐτούς, καθὼς καὶ ἡρέσθησαν ἐπιδοῦναι τε ἀμφοτέροις καὶ λιβέλλους τῆς τοιαύτης ἡμῶν πράξεως, ὡσάντως καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν διαδικαζομένων εἰς τοῦτο, οὐ μην τὸ ἀπέρατον αὐτῶν γινώσκων οὐ κατένευσα ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀπὸ φωνῆς αὐτῶν ἔξελθεῖν . . . ἀλλ' εἴπον, εἰς ὅπερ ἡρέσθητε, ἔξασφαλίσασθε ἀμφότεροι πρὸς με, ἵνα ἀμεταμελήτως καταδέξησθε τοῦτο.

Καὶ ἔξέρχοντο (sic) καὶ ἔξησφαλίσαντο ἀμφότεροι ἐνόρκως, τοῦ ἀρέσκεσθαι αὐτὸν ἕκει γενέσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα διαχωρίζειν ἀμφοτέρους σύνορα. ἔξασφαλισαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν δεδώκασιν δ τε Στρατηγὸς καὶ δ Τζουλᾶς καὶ ὑπόμνημα τοῖς μοναχοῖς ἐμφαῖνον τὴν ἀμφοτέρων ἀρέσκειαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πράξεως ἡμῶν ἀναντίρρητον ἐνέργειαν. Τῆς τοιαύτης οὖν ἀσφαλείας διά τε τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὑπογραφῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βεβαιωθέσης, ἔξηλθον ἐπιτοπίως καὶ διεχώρισαν (l. διεχώρισα ?) κατὰ τὴν ἔγγραφον αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν εἰ ὃν ἡρέσθησαν τόπον. Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς διακατοχῆς τοῦ τόπου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ μέχρι τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων, πᾶσαν τὴν μεταξὺ οὖσαν γῆν, ὡς κλασματικήν, διέπρασα τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τοῦ Κάστρου, καὶ ἡρέσθησαν καὶ παρέλαβον αὐτήν, καὶ ἀνελάβοντο λίβελον παρ' ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων τῇ ισότητι, ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα παρεδόθη

τοῖς μοναχοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὄρους καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτοῖς ὑπόμυημα καὶ περιορισμὸς εἰς οἰκείαν αὐτῶν ἀσφάλειαν· καὶ ὁφελουσιν ἔχειν ἀμφίβολον οἱ οἰκήτορες τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ ἕως τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων, καθὼς καὶ ὁ λίβελος αὐτῶν περιέχει, ώσταύτως καὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν συνόρων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα.

Πλὴν τοῦτο μόνον καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ Κάστρου καὶ ἔτι ἐλογομάχητο, περὶ τοῦ μὴ κωλύεσθαι τυχὸν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν εἰς καιρὸν ἔθυμης ἐφόδου τῇ προφάσει τοῦ διαχωρισμοῦ τοῦ μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι καὶ περισώζεσθαι εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄρος, καὶ περὶ τούτου ἵνα οἰκονομηθῆ, μανδρεῖα δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν μήτε μελισσουργεῖα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀδείας οὔσης ἄνευ εἰδῆσεως τῶν μοναχῶν εἰσάγειν τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν, μεγάλως γὰρ εἰς τούτο οἱ μοναχοὶ παρενοχλοῦντο. ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων συνόρων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα καὶ ὀλιγοστὴ καὶ ἀχρεία γῇ ὑστερον ἀπεκληρώθη τοῖς μοναχοῖς, καὶ γὰρ οἱ οἰκητόρες τοῦ Κάστρου ἔχουσι μὲν καὶ ἦν παρ' ἡμῶν ἔξωνήσαντο γῆν, ἐλαθον δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτως ἐκ προστάξεως βασιλικῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου μου αὐθέντου, καὶ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ὡσεὶ χιλίων μοδίων, καὶ οὐ δύνανται λέγειν μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐτάρκειαν αὐτῶν.

‘Ἡ δὲ λεγομένη “καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων” ἐν ἐτέρῳ μέρει ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ ὑπὸ [sic, l. ἀπὸ?] τὴν γῆν τοῦ κλάσματος τοῦ Καμένου, ἀπεδόθη δὲ διὰ χρυσοβούλλου τοῖς μοναχοῖς, καὶ ὠρίσθη παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπομνήματι ἡμῶν ἀντεγράφη, ἵνα οὕτω κατέχηται παρὰ τῶν μοναχῶν καθὼς καὶ προκατείχετο.

Ταῦτα ἐμοὶ τῷ δούλῳ σου δίκαια διοικήσαι ἀνεφάνη. ὁ δὲ ἄγιός μου αὐθέντης τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐπειπάμενος, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ὁδηγήσαυτο.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 ff. The writer says that his text is derived from a MS. in the library of the monastery of Coutloumousi on Mount Athos which bears the title : Γράμματα ἀρχαῖα σωζομένων τῶν πρωτοτύπων ἐν τῷ Πρωτάπῳ, ἀντιγραφέντα δὲ αἰτήσεως τοῦ πανοσιολογιωτάτου ἀρχιμανδρίτου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς Κουτλουμούση κυρίου Γρηγορίου. With reference to

the πρᾶξις of Θωμᾶς it says: ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου διεφθαρμένη.

Gerasimos Smyrnakes, *op. cit.*, p. 23 f., quotes this document from ἔξασφαλισαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν to the end. I have not noted his variations which do not affect the sense, because it seems less likely that they are derived from the original document at Caryes than that they are merely emendations of the text given by Uspenski.

C. THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MONKS OF ATHOS
AND THE ERISSIOTES AS TO THE BOUNDARY
BETWEEN THEIR DOMAINS

Σίγνον Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ὁρθογομάτου.

Σίγνον Μεθοδίου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου μονῆς τῆς ἀγίας Χριστίνης.

Σίγνον Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου.

Σίγνον μοναχῶν ἀπὸ Κεντάρων.

Σίγνον Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Χαλούμα.

Σίγνον Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γοράζδου.

Σίγνον . . . πάντων.

Σίγνον Βασιλείου.

Σίγνον πάντων μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος.

Σίγνον Ἰωάννου, ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀθωνος.

Σίγνον Κυνηγοῦ τοῦ Νεπροβάδη.

Σίγνον Θεοδώρου.

Σίγνον Ἀρκαδίου μοναχοῦ Ἀθωνίτου.

Σίγνον πάντων τοῦ Κάστρου.

[In the original each of these signatures is written round a cross.]

'Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς νιοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος. Ἡμεῖς οἱ προγεγραμμένοι καὶ τοὺς τιμίους καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν ἴδιοχείρως πήξαντες τὴν παροῦσαν ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τελείαν διάλυσιν ποιοῦμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς Θωμᾶ βασπαθάρη



ἀσηκρύτη ἐπόπτη Θεσσαλονίκης. ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ ἡγούμενοι μετὰ τῶν χωριατῶν ὑπέρ πάσης τῆς κοινότητος τῆς χώρας, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται μοναχοὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν μοναχῶν τοῦ Ἀθωνος τοῦ ὄρους.

Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ χρόνου τινὸς ἐπώλησταν εἰς τὸς χωριάτας τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατεχομένην κλασματικὴν γῆν, οὐ διεχώρισταν δὲ τὸ ἔως ποὺ ὀφείλουσι δεσπόζειν οἱ ἀγοράζοντες καὶ ἐκείθεν οἱ Ἀθωνῖται, διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήλθομεν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πανευφήμου πρωτεπόπτου Κατακάλων, καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Θωμᾶ βασπαθαρίου τοῦ Τζουλᾶ, καὶ Ζωήκτου [i. Ζωήτου? cf. the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων] βασπαθαρίου κριτοῦ, καὶ σοῦ τοῦ προειρημένου ἐπόπτου, ἔγκλησιν ἐποιησάμεθα ἐπιζητοῦντες χωρισθῆναι τὰ τοῦ Ἀθωνος ὄρια ἀπὸ τῆς διαπραθείσης γῆς.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ τῆς χώρας ἐλέγομεν εἶναι τὴν ἡμετέραν δεσποτείαν ἔως τοῦ Ζυγοῦ, ἐκείθεν δὲ τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀντελέγομεν πάλιν ὅτι κατὰ πολὺ μέρος ἀνήκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἔξωνηθείσης γῆς.

Περὶ τούτων πολλὰ φιλονικήσαντες συνείδομεν ἀμφότεροι καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν γενέσθαι οὔτως,—ἴνα ἀπὸ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν χωραφίων τοῦ Κυροῦ Μεθοδίου¹ πρὸς τὸν Ζυγὸν κοποῦν τὰ σύνορα ἀπὸ θάλασσαν εἰς θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ζυγὸν πάντα χωραφίᾳ τε καὶ χέρσα ἕνα ὅσι τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐριστὸν ἕνα ὅσι πάντα τῆς δεσποτείας τῶν ἀγορασάντων καὶ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, καὶ μήτε ἡμεῖς οἱ Ἀθωνῖται ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐριστὸν ἔχομεν ἔξουσίαν τὸ σύνολον ἐπιζητεῖν, μήτε ἡμεῖς οἱ τῆς χώρας ἀπὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύνορα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθωνα ἔχειν τινὰ ἔξουσίαν.

Καὶ εἰς ταῦτα συμφωνήσαντες καὶ ἀρεσθέντες ἔξησφαλισάμεθα πρός σε τὸν ἐπόπτην ἕνα κατανυγῆς καὶ ἔξελθης καὶ διαχωρίσης ἡμᾶς καθὼς καὶ συνεβιβάσθημεν.

Οἷον δὲ μέρος ἀντιλογήσει καὶ οὐκ ἀσμεγίσει εἰς ταῦτα

¹ i.e. the monastery of S. Christina. Cf. signatories, and the διαχωρισμός of Κατακάλων.

τὰ προειρημένα, ἐν πρώτοις ἀρνητής ἔστι τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὄμοουσίου Τριάδος, καὶ ξένος τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως καὶ τῆς μοναχικῆς καταστάσεως, ἔπειτα καὶ καταδικάζεσθαι δικαιωμένου τοῦ ἐμμενοῦς καὶ στέργοντος μέρους εἰς τὰ εἰρημένα σύμφωνα.

"Ἐξωθεν δὲ τούτων ἔχειν ήμᾶς καὶ τὴν καθέδραν τῶν Γερόντων τῶν ἐν τῷ Χρυσοβουλλίῳ μνημονευομένην.

Εἰς ταῦτα πάντα ἀρεσθέντες προετάξαμεν τοὺς τιμίους καὶ ζωοτοιοὺς σταυρούς, γραφέντος τοῦ ὕφους διὰ χειρὸς Δημητρίου κληρικοῦ κουβοικλίων καὶ ὁρφανοτρόφου, ἐν μηνὶ Μαΐῳ Ἰνδικτίονος ἔτε.

Γρηγόριος ἐλάχιστος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσταλονίκης μάρτυς τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ὑπέγραψα ἴδιοχείρως.

'Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Θωμᾶς βασπαθάρης, νοτάριος τῶν κομερκῶν πάρειμι ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις μάρτυς ὑπέγραψα ἴδιοχείρως.

Βασίλειος κανδιδάτος ὁ Σιρινιάρης πάρειμι κτλ.

'Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Μιχαὴλ κληρικὸς πάρειμι κτλ.

'Ἐν ὀνόματι πατρὸς κτλ. Γρηγόριος βασπαθάρης ὁ Φουσκὸς πάρειμι κτλ.

The text is taken from Porphyrius Uspenski,
op. cit., p. 318.

D. DECISION OF Κατακάλων Κάσπαξ AS TO THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE MONASTIC LAND OF MOUNT ATHOS AND THE TERRITORY OF HIERISSOS. A.D. 882

Τῶν βασιλέων ήμῶν τῶν ἀγίων ἐδεξάμεθα πρόσταγμα ἵνα ἄμα Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἀγίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Θεσταλονίκης καὶ Ζωήτῳ Κάσπακος (sic) ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου καὶ κριτοῦ τοῦ θέματος ἐξέλθωμεν ἐπιτοπίως ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τοῦ Ἱεριστοῦ καὶ διαχωρίσωμεν τὴν γῆν τῶν τε μοναχῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνὶ καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων τοῦ κάστρου Ἱεριστοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν Θωμᾶ Κάσπακος καὶ ἐπόπτου τοῦ μειροκοβουλοῦ, καὶ ἐνδον ἀποσταλείσης πρὸς ήμᾶς τῆς ψήφου Κοσμᾶ τοῦ πανευφήμου μαγίστρου. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πεποιήκαμεν καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τόπον ἄμα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἦτοι τῷ ἀρχιεπι-

σκόπῳ καὶ τῷ δηλωθέντι Κάσπακι συμπαρόντων ἡμῖν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἐρκούλων, Παρίλου Κάσπακος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν Στεφάνου, καὶ ἔγγιστα τῆς οἰκειακῆς τραπέζης Ἀναστασίου Κάσπακος καὶ πρὸς τῆς πόρτης Θεσσαλονίκης Ἀνδρέου Κάσπακος καὶ χαρτουλαρίου τοῦ θέματος, Κωνσταντίνου κληρικοῦ καὶ κουβουκλησίου, Θεοδώρου κληρικοῦ καὶ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Θεσσαλονίκης, Εὐθυμίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἥγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Περιστερῶν, Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἥγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Ὁρφανοῦ,¹ Ἀνδρέου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἥγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σπηλαιώτου, Στεφάνου Κάσπακος τοῦ Βαρδανοπούλου, Νίκου Ἀμανδύτου, Δημητρίου δειχ. τῶν Βημαρίων καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν διεχωρίσαμεν τὴν γῆν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ἵτοι τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων Ἰερισσοῦ, ποιήσαντες τὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν τῆς νοτίας θαλάσσης, ἥγουν ἀπὸ τὴν κατ' ἀρχὴν τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς.

Καὶ ἔστιν ὁ διαχωρισμὸς οὗτως· ἀπάρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τὸν βαθὺν ρύακα τὸν κατέναντι κείμενον τῶν λεγομένων παλαιῶν παλατίων τῆς Ἀμμουλιανῆς καὶ ἀνατρέχει ὡς πρὸς τὰ χωράφια τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἀγίας Χριστίνης, ἐν φ τόπῳ καὶ λιθοσωρείᾳ ἵσταται ἐκ πολλῶν λίθων συγκειμένη καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς λιθοσωρείας ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἵστανται δρύες καθεξῆς λαυρατώμεναι, καὶ ἀποδίδει τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρις ἐπέριον ρύακος, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ρύακα ὑπερβαίνει τὸ φαχῶνι καὶ κατέρχεται εἰς τὴν Γλομπουτζίστα, καὶ πέραν τοῦ ρύακος εἰσὶ δρύες καὶ πτελέαι λαυρατώμεναι καὶ καθεξῆς τῇ ἰσότητι ὡς πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποδίδει εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν γυστέρινν ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ παρακείμενον αὐχένιν ἐν φ ἔστιν τὸ λιθομάνδριον τὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦ Κολοβοῦ, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἔσωθεν τοῦ περιορισμοῦ τῆς γῆς τῶν Ἀθωνιτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ αὐχένιν ἀποδίδει εἰς πεδινὸν τόπον ἐν φ εἰσὶ βρουλέαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τόπων καθεξῆς ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸ ἀντικείμενον αὐχένιν, καὶ κατέρχεται τῇ ἰσότητι μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς βορεινῆς.

Οὕτω διαχωρίσαντες καὶ σύνορα πήξαντες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ τόπος διεχώρισεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔγγραφως τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡμῶν

¹ 1. Ὁρθογομάτου? Cf. signatories to the agreement on p. 80.

ἀποσημειωσάμενοι ἐπιδεδώκαμεν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς μέρεσι — κατέχουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ μοναχοὶ τοῦ Ἀθωνος καὶ τὴν καθήδραν τῶν Γερόντων, καθὼς καὶ προκατεῖχον αὐτὴν, κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Χρυσβούλλου αὐτῶν — σφραγίσαντες διὰ μολύβδου τῇ συνήθει σφραγίδι ἡμῶν, μηνὶ Αὐγούστῳ, ἵνδικτιῶνος ἄ, δτῷ.¹ [882 A.D.]

+ Κατακάλων Κάσπαξ, στρατηλάτης Θεσσαλονίκης.

+ Γρηγόριος, ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης.

+ Εὐθύμιος, μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Περιστερῶν.

And the others, whose names are given in the first part of the document.

The text is taken from the *Βυζάντινα Χρονικά*, vol. v, 1898, pp. 485 f. [published in St. Petersburg and in Leipzig by K. L. Rickev] from a collection of documents copied from a MS. in the Laura by the Proegoumenos Alexandros of that monastery. The original is said, I believe correctly, to be extant in the archives of the *κουνότης* at Caryaes.

E. CHRYSOBULL OF LEO VI

... πάσης παρενοχλήσεως . . . ἐλευθεριάζοντες περιστάσεων . . . τῷ ὅμματι . . . τῆς βασιλείας ὑπερεύχοντο, τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς ἀσκηταῖς ἄπασι . . . πάλαι μὲν ὁ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατήρ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς σιγιλλιον ἔξι αἰτήσεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου Κολοβοῦ λαβεῖν ἐδικαίωσε τοῦ περιφυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὅρει σχολάζοντας τοὺς θείους ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσετι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου νεουργηθεῖσαν μονὴν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοίας καταπολάύειν, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ἐρισσοῦ καὶ μόνον. Καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης θείας κελεύσεως τοῦ ἐν τῇ μακαρίᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπὶ χρόνους τινὰς κρατησάσης ὕστερον δὲ προσελθόντες οἱ τῆς μονῆς Κολοβοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτοκρατορίας, καὶ

¹ Gerasimos Smyrnakes, l. c., p. 28, quotes the last part of this document. He gives the same year, but the fifteenth instead of the first indiction.



πλαγίως διδάξαντες ὡς ἐν τάξει ἐπικυρωτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λῆξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως σιγιλλίου ἐπεζήτησαν, ἐν φὶ παραλόγως τῆς τοῦ σιγιλλίου μετενεχθέντες τάξεως, χαριστικῆς τύπου, ὡς οὐκ ὥφελε, διεγράψαντο, καὶ περιορισμὸν ἐκθέμενοι σχεδὸν τὸν δλον εἰς δεσποτείαν καὶ κυριότητα κατακρατήσαντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χωρία, ἀπό τε τῶν λεγομένων Σιδηροκαυσίων καὶ τῶν Ξλωμουτλῶν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ μοναστήρια ἀπό τε τοῦ Μουστάκωνος, τοῦ Καρδιογνώστου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου καὶ τοῦ Λουκᾶ, καὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀρχαῖαν καθέδραν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ περιωνύμου ὅρους Ἀθωνος Ἀνδρέας ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς καὶ πρώτος, ἡσυχαστὴς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅρους ἀπὸ προσώπου πάντων τῶν ἐκεῖσε σχολαζόντων θείων ἄνδρων, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβών, ἐδέηθη τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας ἀναδιδάξας ὡς οἱ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπειλημμένοι προφάσεως, καὶ εἰς δικαίωμα τῆς ἀδίκως τηνικαῦτα γενομένης κατὰ πανουργίαν περιγραφῆς τὸν αὐτὸν χάρτην προκομίζοντες, κατεκράτησαν τὸ δλον ὅρος τοῦ Ἀθωνος, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σχολαζόντας θείους ἄνδρας, ὡς ὑπὸ ἴδιαν παροικίαν, πολλάκις διαπληκτιζόμενοι, ἀποφαίνονται καὶ ἀποδιώκειν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ οἰκείουν κτημάτων, ἵσχυρως διατείνονται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις νομαδικὸν προάστειον τὸν δλον διακρατοῦντες Ἀθωνα, καὶ τῶν πλησιαζουσῶν χωρῶν εἰσάγοντες τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτων νομῆς κομιζόμενοι, μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπελάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν παίτελῶς ἐκβιάζονται. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῶν εἰρημένων χωρῶν συνανελθόντες τῷ αὐτῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης πλεονεξίας καὶ παραλόγου κατασχέσεως τῶν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ κατεβόησαν. Περὶ ὧν δεξάμενος ὁ πρωτοσπαθάριος Νικηφόρος, φὶ ἐπώνυμον τοῦ Εὐπράξη, ἀκριβῶς διερευνήσασθαι, τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὕτως ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν ἀνηγέγατο, καὶ δεξάμενος παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἀμφότερα αὐτῶν τὰ μέρη, τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαβεῖν προσέταξεν. Καὶ δῆ, ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Νικηφόρου, δοθέντος παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ εἰς πρόσωπον τῆς οἰκείας μονῆς Παχωμίου καὶ Ἀθανασίου μοναχῶν, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν παραγενομένων, καὶ ἔξετασθέντων

κελεύστει τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Στεφάνου μαγίστρου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου βασιλικοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ πρωτασικρίτου, καὶ Βασιλείου πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων ἐπὶ τῶν περιωνύμου σεκρέτου τῶν ἀσηκρετίων, εὐρέθησαν ταῖς ἀληθείαις παραλόγως προγραφέντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τόπια ἐν τῷ παραλόγῳ γενομένῳ χάρτῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ προειρημένοι μοναχοὶ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ πάντων συνομολογήσαντες κατέθεντο. Ταῦτα οὖν ἡ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεία παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναμαθοῦσα καὶ τὰς τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκοὰς σύμενῶς ἐπικλίναστα, ἐπετάξατο τὸν τοιοῦτον τηνικαῦτα παραλόγως γενόμενον χάρτην διαρρηχθῆναι, διαφυλάττεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι σχολάζοντας μοναχοὺς ἀπαρενοχλήτους ἀπὸ παντοίας ἐπηρείας καὶ τῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγγινομένης παρενοχλήσεως, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰ χωρία κατέχειν ἀκαινοτόμητα τὰ ἴδια δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἀρκεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸν χάρτην τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν τῆς ἑνορίας Ἐριστοῦ διακράτησιν, καὶ τὴν κατανομὴν μόνην τῶν Καμένων σὺν τοῖς τόποις τῶν ἀμπελώνων καὶ κηπουρίων αὐτῶν καὶ μόνον. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα κλάσματα τῶν τε Καμένων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν κλασματικῶν, ἐλευθεριάζειν καὶ νέμεσθαι αὐτὰ πάντας τοὺς παρακειμένους. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς περισσότεραν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διηγεκῆ δικαιώσιν τοῦ τε μέρους τῶν ἐν τῷ ὅρει τοῦ Ἀθωνος ἀσκητῶν, καὶ τῶν χωρίων ἀπόδλαυσιν καὶ καταδίκην τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Κολοβοῦ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν εὐσεβὲς σιγιλλιῶδες ἐν μεμβράναις γράμμα ἐπικυρωτικὸν τοῦ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λήξει πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ἐπιδοθῆναι τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι ἀσκητῶν ἐκελεύσαμεν, γεγενημένον κατὰ τὸν . . . μῆνα . . . ἵδικτ . . . , ἐν φῷ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημήνατο κράτος . . .

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 296.



CHAPTER IV

THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS AND THE COMING OF ATHANASIUS

THE last chapter described the state of things at the beginning of the tenth century, when the monks of Mount Athos had triumphed over their oppressors and ‘protectors’, the monks of Kolobou, and were beginning to adopt something of the nature of a common organization. The next few years are blank. The only ray of light, and that a very feeble one, is afforded by the Chrysobull of Romanus which ratified those of Basil and of Leo. As was pointed out, nothing was said in the Chrysobull of Leo as to the protectorate over the mountain or about the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*; but both these points are mentioned in the Chrysobull of Romanus, which belongs either to the year 919–20 (or perhaps the year 934–5, only the indiction being given). A possible interpretation of this fact is that the controversy between the monks of Kolobou and the hermits of Mount Athos still continued, and that the former insisted that the meaning of the Chrysobull of Leo was to confirm that of Basil, and thus to grant them a protectorate over the mountain, while the monks of Mount Athos insisted, more or less as a counter-claim, on their privileges in connexion with the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*. If this be so it would

appear that both parties succeeded in establishing their claim.

If the tradition of the mountain be trustworthy, one other point of interest ought to be added. According to this Basileios, the writer of the life of Euthymius, who was Metropolitan of Thessalonica some time after 905,¹ founded a monastery (or laura?) on Mount Athos. This monastery is further identified with the ruined foundation on the north coast of the mountain, and according to two MSS. of the book called Ἀθωνιάς,² in the Russian convent on Mount Athos, was known as the monastery τοῦ Πύργου, or as τοῦ Σωτῆρος; it would also appear to have been dedicated to the Ascension, and perhaps the full name was τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος, just as the full name of Pantocrator is τῆς μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ παντοκράτορος. That this monastery existed is of course certain, but in the absence of corroborative proof it is far from being equally certain that it was founded early in the tenth century by Basileios of Thessalonica.³ It is interesting to note that according to the life of St. Bartholomew of Simeri³ it was early in the twelfth century the property of a Byzantine named Kallimeris, who gave it to Bartholomew. The

¹ Cf. Petit, *Saint Euthyme le jeune*, p. 6, and *Échos de l'Orient*, iv (1901), p. 221.

² Cod. Ath. Pantel. 5788 and 5789. For the facts concerning the book Ἀθωνιάς, see Gedeon, ὁ Ἀθως, p. 69. It was written by Sophronios Kallijas, before 1855, and published at Smyrna after 1870.

³ *Acta SS. Sept.*, vol. viii, p. 821 c.

latter reformed it, and it is stated in his life that it therefore obtained the nickname of the monastery of the Calabrian. Of this name no trace can be found in any surviving tradition. Finally, in 1281, according to the *'Αθωνιάς*, it was absorbed by the neighbouring monastery of Chelandariou.

After this we know nothing about the history of the mountain until the middle of the tenth century, when the various documents connected with Athanasius the Athonite give us some valuable information as to the history of the mountain during the second half of this century.

These documents are (1) the life of Athanasius the Athonite. This important document was written by a younger Athanasius who had been a monk at the laura under the saint, and wrote during the abbacy of Eustratius, the second abbot. The original MS. is said to be extant—I see no reason to doubt the fact—in the archives of the Laura, and there are several copies in various libraries on Mount Athos and elsewhere. One of these copies, now in the Library of the Synod at Moscow (No. 398 in the catalogue of Vladimir), has been published, with useful indices, by J. Pomjalovski, St. Petersburg, 1895. It would no doubt be desirable to have this collated with the original, but for historical research the printed text is a sufficient basis of investigation.

(2) The Typicon or Kanonicon of Athanasius. This is also probably still extant in the original document, but is not shown to visitors. It is published, from probably trustworthy copies, by

Ph. Meyer in *die Haupturkunde für die Geschichte der Athosklöster.*

(3) The Typicon of the Emperor Johannes Tzimisces, also published in the *Haupturkunde* of Ph. Meyer.

From these documents a tolerably good idea can be formed of the condition of the monks on the mountain in the second half of the tenth century, of the end of the history of the monks of Kolobou, and of the changes introduced by Athanasius.

Athanasius the Athonite. Athanasius, whose name before he became a monk was Abraham, was the son of a rich and well-born family at Trebizonde. He was born early in the tenth century, but his father died before his birth and his mother shortly afterwards, so that he owed his bringing up first to a friend of his mother and afterwards to relations in Constantinople. In this city he made the acquaintance of Michael Maleinos, the abbot from Mount Kymina, and his nephews Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, the latter being the future emperor. He followed Michael to Kymina to the monastery, which was based on the model of the Studium ; but after a time left it, and went to Mount Athos. Here he tried to escape the notice of Leo and Nicephorus Phocas, who were looking for him, by changing his name and feigning to be a peasant. There were on the mountain apparently a comparatively small number of monks, some living in communities and some as hermits, who acknowledged to some extent the supremacy of one monk, the Protopsalt, who allotted hermitages or cells to those who desired them.

They assembled for the three great feasts of the year at the laura¹ at Caryes. One of these communities (or perhaps one of the hermits) lived on the hill known as the Ζυγός, and to this Athanasius attached himself. Mention is also made of another monk named Paul, who was called Ξηροποτάμιος, probably because he lived (again either as the head of a laura or as a hermit) at the place called Xeropotamos, where there is now a monastery of that name.

Athanasius could not keep his identity a secret. First, the Protos—at that time a monk named Stephanos—discovered him, but consented to keep his secret and gave him a hermitage three stadia distant from Caryes, and ultimately he was found by Leo (according to the *Vita*, p. 24) or by a monk named Methodius who was sent by Nicephorus (according to the Kanonicon, *Haupturkunde*, p. 104), and was persuaded to build a laura like that of Michael Maleinos at the expense of Nicephorus. This he did at the place called Melana where ‘the Laura’ still stands. According to the *Vita* the church at Caryes was at the same time enlarged by the generosity of Leo.

It is interesting to note that among the monks who joined Athanasius was Nicephorus, a Calabrian, who had formerly been a companion of Fantinus. It is further stated that when Nicephorus came to join Athanasius, Fantinus went to Thessalonica.

¹ The present Protaton: it has long lost the title of laura, which is now only given to the foundation of Athanasius.

This corroborates the short account of Fautinus given in the *Acta SS.* Aug., vi, pp. 621 ff., which also states that Fantinus came to Thessalonica at the end of his life. There is in the Laura a MS. written, in a hand and style closely resembling the school of Nilus,¹ the friend of Fantinus, in 970, by a scribe named Lukas. It is far from impossible that Nicephorus introduced the Calabrian style of writing into the Laura, or that Lukas like himself came from Calabria.

The importance of this story for the history of the monks on Mount Athos is that it establishes (1) That Caryes had become, by the middle of the tenth century, the general centre of the monks. (2) That there was a generally recognized chief monk, called the Protos. (3) That there were three fixed times in the year—Christmas, Easter, and the Assumption of the Virgin—at which the whole body of monks used to assemble for the services in the Church at Caryes. (4) That there were dotted about the mountain various settlements of monks, varying from hermitages to lauras, and of these we can place one on the Zygos, one at Caryes, and one at Xeropotamos, while we know from other sources that there was another, called Klementos, on the site of the present Iveron. Thus the monastic development of the mountain, c. 950, may fairly be said still to belong to the 'laura period'.

The Chrysobull given to Athanasius and the position

¹ See *Journal of Theological Studies* 1903–4, 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy.'

it created. The coming of Athanasius and his friendship with Nicephorus introduced a new factor into the life of the monks. He obtained from the emperor money with which to build a new and magnificent foundation, and to this was granted a Chrysobull giving it various valuable possessions and complete independence from all control by any except the imperial authority. Thus, whereas there was formerly only the monastery of Kolobou with the semblance of a protectorate (among monks, as elsewhere, often more advantageous to the protector than valuable to the protected), there was now founded, on the mountain itself, a rich and powerful monastery containing over eighty monks, all of whom could go to Caryes, and take part in the affairs of the general commonwealth of monks, and at the same time could claim at any moment that, by the virtue of the Chrysobull of Nicephorus, their own interests were immune from any interference by the other fathers. If we consider that the other settlements consisted of only a few monks each, the unfairness of this arrangement is obvious; the new foundation could probably swamp all the others, if voting or discussion went by the numbers of monks and not by foundations.

The appeal of the Athonites against Athanasius. That friction arose in this way between Athanasius and the other monks is certain, but we possess little knowledge of the details. So long as Nicephorus lived it was obviously impossible to appeal to him against the Athanasian monks; but after his death

his successor, Johannes Tzimisces, was approached by the monks under the Protos Athanasius (who is not to be confounded with the saint) and the monk Paul (whether Paul of Xeropotamos or another is not certain) who drew attention to the quarrels between Athanasius and the other monks. Their accusation was that Athanasius interfered with and worried the others, and that no means of peace could be found. An imperial inquiry was therefore held under Euthymius, a monk of the Studium, who decided that the quarrel was chiefly due to the attempts of Satan to make mischief, reconciled the monks, and drew up a series of regulations for the future conduct of the mountain. Among these regulations the part of the enactment, which for the present purpose is important, is that the annual meetings at Caryes should be reduced from three to one, and strictly confined to abbots and hermits.

The victory of Athanasius, and the rule of the Studium. The general effect of this regulation was to give Athanasius more rather than less freedom, even though those of his monks who were neither κελλιῶται nor ἡσυχασταῖ could no longer come to Caryes. Moreover the choice of a Studite to conduct the inquiry was itself practically a decision in favour of Athanasius, for the Laura—a laura only in name—was founded on the model of the Studium. Indeed it would not be too much to say that the real question at issue was whether Mount Athos should keep the loose organization of the old days or adopt the stricter regulations intro-

duced by Theodore the Studite, adopted by Michael Maleinos on Mount Kymena, and brought thence by Athanasius to Mount Athos. Obviously the choice of Euthymius, himself a monk of the Studium, was practically the doom of the old life and the triumph of the Studite system.

The result was the rapid foundation of other monasteries with the same or almost the same constitution as the laura. But with their foundation begins a new period in the history of Mount Athos, which falls outside the purpose of the present treatise.

The end of Kolobou. It remains to trace the closing scenes in the history of Kolobou and its ultimate absorption by the monks of the mountain.

The point on which friction arose in the second half of the tenth century between Kolobou and the monks of Mount Athos was the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* to which reference was made in the Chrysobulls of Basil and Romanus. It therefore becomes important to inquire what this *καθέδρα* really was.

The view which is usually held by those of the monks who have ever heard of it is that it was the meeting-place of the monks under the presidency of the Protos, and that it was moved from Erissos to Caryes during the tenth century. Its position is fixed by one tradition at Purgoudia, by another at Proboli.¹ I believe that the whole of

¹ I am not quite sure where Proboli is: it does not appear on any map which I have seen, but I understand from the monks that it is a little south of Xerxes' canal.

this theory, including the identification of the site, is quite modern and of no intrinsic value. The most important evidence as to the site is that in the report of Thomas Kaspax it is apparently defined as not being in the neighbourhood of the boundary between the Athonites and the Erissiotes, from which I conclude that it was in or near the town itself. The idea that the monks used to come to Erisso for general meetings is bound up with the prevalent view that the early monasteries were all near the canal of Xerxes and that Athanasius the Athonite was the first to go to the mountain itself. If so, of course a general meeting-place at Erisso is more probable than one at Caryes, but I am inclined to combat the whole theory. It is true that the tradition which ascribed the foundation of the monasteries Xeropotamos and St. Paul to a certain Paulus, son of Michael the Emperor, is bound up with an obvious forgery (cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 30), but this does not alter the facts that there was a Paulus of Xeropotamos in the time of Athanasius, that a monastery of some sort—Klementos—existed before the time of the latter close to the present site of Iveron, and that the monks were accustomed to meet at Caryes, long before the foundation of the Laura, and had a little church there, as the life of Athanasius explicitly states. Therefore I think that the theory which confines the monks to the canal end of the mountain and makes Erisso a convenient place for meetings is baseless. If so, the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* cannot have been used

for the purpose of general meetings, and I suggest that it was merely a house at which the monks or hermits used to stay when they came to Erisso in order to buy provisions and clothes. It was, in fact, what the monks would now call a *κονάκι* in Erisso, belonging partly to Kolobou and partly to the Athonites, but chiefly to the former.

If this theory be correct (it is, of course, quite as much a guess founded on general considerations of probability as the rival view), the next important stage in the history of Kolobou is connected with the last by the *καθέδρα*.

It appears from the document given by the Protos Thomas to Johannes the Georgian in 985 (Appendix C) that there was a prolonged struggle between Kolobou and the Athonites as to the right which the latter had to hospitality in the monastery when they came to Erisso.¹ It does not actually identify this with the *καθέδρα*, but it very nearly does so, and in the absence of evidence I think it is fairly safe to assume that this is the meaning of the passage. Otherwise we have the improbable theory that there were two spots in Erisso which were a source of contention between the Athonites and Kolobou, that they were both used by the same people, but that documents referring to the one never mention the other.

¹ . . . εἰχον ἀρχῆθεν συνήθειαν . . . παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν καὶ ἐσθίειν . . . πρόσωπά τινα ἐμφανῆ τῶν ἀρχαίων γερόντων seems to me a paraphrase for the *καθέδρα*, and ἔξερχόμενοι εἰς Ἱεριστὸν σπανίως διὰ τινα χρέαν defines the use to which it was put—not consultation between monks, but shopping in the village.

Assuming that my view may be correct, we can then easily reconstruct the history of the dispute up to the end of the separate existence of Kolobou.

As the monks on the mountain increased in numbers the frequency of their visits to Erisso became greater, and the constant arrival of monks at the quarters set apart for the purpose became an intolerable nuisance to Kolobou. Originally, no doubt, the *γέποντες* covered all the monks from the mountain, at least by courtesy, just as it does now, but strictly not every monk is a *γέπων* in the technical sense, and probably the first step of the monks of Kolobou was to enforce the distinction, and to inquire carefully as to the *bona fides* of travellers who claimed to be Athonite *γέποντες*. The procedure, though natural, must have given rise to constant friction, and at last the monastery refused to keep up the custom any longer. From the point of view of the monks of Kolobou this was the end of the matter, and it was reached about 975.

It may be argued that the Chrysobull of Basil and Romanus would have prevented this if the *καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων* had been the quarters in which the Athonites stayed at Kolobou, but it must be remembered that Chrysobulls, though a good argument in a court of law, were of no value against an abbot who shut his doors, especially when the same Bulls had once made him in some way the Protector of the Mountain.

But though the monks of Kolobou might regard the matter as settled, the Athonites, who were

rapidly growing in numbers and importance, were naturally not disposed to leave it where it was. If Kołobou would not receive them as guests it must be made to acknowledge them as masters, and they made appeals to the emperor to give them the monastery. Athanasius of the Laura, 'the Studite' (probably Euthymius the Studite, cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 31), and Johannes the Georgian petitioned John Tsimisces for this purpose, and two requests were addressed to Basil, one by the monks Sabas¹, Malenas, and Thomas² Pitharas, and a second by Georgias Chalandare; but none of these attempts were successful. Finally, however, in 980, Johannes the Georgian, who possessed monasteries in his own land, effected an exchange with the emperor, giving the monasteries of Iverissa in Constantinople and S. Phocas in Trebizond in exchange for the monasteries of Leontia in Thessalonica, of Kolobou in Erissos (see Appendix B), and of Clementos on Mount Athos.

This, of course, completely altered the case, and Johannes, who was anxious to found a Georgian monastery (the present Iveron) in place of the little laura of St. John the Forerunner at Clementos, conceded the Athonites all that they wished in Erissos, purchased still more land for them, and built them a good house for their use when visiting the town.

¹ Perhaps Σάβας μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος καὶ κουβουκλείσιος, the last signatory of the Τυπικόν of John Tsimisces (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

² Perhaps the abbot who was afterwards the Πρῶτος.

This is the end of the known history of Kolobou ; I do not think that it is ever mentioned again in extant documents, and there can be little doubt but that it rapidly became merely a dependency of Iveron, little, if at all, differing from a farm.

It only remains to sum up the broad results of this investigation. The life of Peter the Athonite and the first period of the life of Euthymius on Mount Athos seem to be the best attested proofs which exist for the hermit period on the mountain. No doubt there were many more whose names¹ have been forgotten. We have no right even to assume that Peter was the first hermit on the mountain : it is quite possible that he had many predecessors, and that he should rather be regarded as owing his fame to the fact that the end of his life overlapped the beginning of the next period. On the other hand, there is no proof that this was the case ; Peter and Euthymius remain as the two definite examples of hermits on Mount Athos in the ninth century, nor is there any historical proof that there were any earlier.

After the hermit period comes that of the lauras —loosely organized bodies of hermits who met together at intervals and had a common centre in the cell of some one outstanding anchorite. This period is represented by the second part of the life of Euthymius and by the various scraps of

¹ Cf. the mention of Joseph the Armenian and Onuphrius in the life of Euthymius.

evidence which cover the period from his leaving the mountain shortly before 870 to the foundation of the great Laura of Athanasius a century later. So far as we can see, the most important incident in this period was the acquirement of privileges for the monks by Johannes Kolobos and the subsequent struggle between the monks of the monastery of Kolobou and those on the mountain for the advantages offered by these privileges. The most notable result of this struggle was a marked tendency to a more developed organization and the recognition of Caryes as a centre for the monks under the leadership of one of their number called the Protos.

This type of loose organization and the period which it marked was closed by the triumph of the Studite system introduced by Athanasius, and with his triumph the present history of the mountain may be said to begin; for from that day to this it has represented the continuance of the Studite system, with developments and changes of detail, it is true, but with no essential or constitutional revolution unless the introduction of idiorhythmism be so regarded. The treatment of this long period, still unclosed, would be the worthy subject of much research, and could probably be carried out successfully if the monks would open their archives, but it is outside the purpose of this treatise, which only professes to deal with the pre-Athanasiian history of the mountain, and is closed by the triumph of that saint and the introduction of the Studite system.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER IV

A. CHRYSOBULL OF ROMANUS, CONSTANTINE, STEPHANUS, AND CONSTANTINE, A.D. 919.

'Εν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ νίου καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος Ῥωμανὸς καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, Στέφανος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος πιστοὶ βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Τὸ ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς πράξεσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ ταύτας ἐπικυροῦν βασιλικῆς ἔστιν ἀληθῶς προνοίᾳς καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳς, ὡς ἀν μόνιμον ἡ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ἐσ ἀεί, διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν βεβασιλευκότων χρυσόβουλλον ἐπιδεωκότων τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ἀθωνι ἀσκηταῖς, τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐπισκεψαμένη καὶ ἀποδεξαμένη βασιλείᾳ, διὰ τοῦ παρόντος αὐτῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐπικυροῦ χρυσοβουλλίου λόγου, τοῦ παραφυλάττεσθαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὅρει σχολάζοντας θείους ἄνδρας ἐν διαφόροις κατασκηνώσεσι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κολοβοῦ Ἰωάννου νεουργηθεῖσαν μονὴν τῆς τοιαύτης προνοίᾳς καταπολαύειν, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν ἐνορίαν τοῦ Ἐριστοῦ καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν εἰ τι ἔτερον ἐν τῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ἀναγράφεται, ἀπαραποίητον διαφυλάττεσθαι, μήτε προσθήκης μήτε ὑφαιρέσεως τῆς οἰασοῦν γινομένης. Πλὴν τοῦτο διοριζόμεθα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐμφερομένη ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρυσοβουλλίῳ ὀρχαία τῶν γερόντων καθέδρα ἀπαρενόχλητος διατηρήται ἀπὸ πάσης ἐπηρείας ἀγγαρείας καὶ ζημίας, τῆς ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγγινομένης παρά τε ἐπισκόπων καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ἄλλου παντός, καθὼς ἦν καὶ ἔξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς βεβαιοῦ καὶ ἀσφαλοῦς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ παρόντος ἡμῶν εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβουλλίου λόγου γεγενημένου κατὰ τὸν αὔγουστον μῆνα τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπινεμήσεως ἐν φερομένην τὸν ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπερσήμηνατο κράτος.

Taken from Porphyrius Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

**B. EXTRACT FROM A DOCUMENT AT IVERON, REFERRING
TO A CHRYSOBULL OF BASIL BULGAROKTONOS,
A. D. 980.**

. . . καὶ τοῦ παναιδίμου βασιλέως Κύριος Βασιλείου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου Χρυσόβουλλος γεγονὼς κατὰ τὸ Συντηγμα [A. D. 980] ἔτος τῷ μοναχῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ συγκελλῷ τῷ Τορνικίῳ, κατὰ τρόπον ἀνταλλαγῆς ὑπαγορεύων αὐτῷ δωρηθῆναι τὴν μονὴν τὴν Λεοντίας ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Κολοβοῦ ἐν Ἐρισσῷ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἥτις ἐπ' ὄνόματι μὲν τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου καθύδριται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δρός τὸν Ἀθωνα διάκειται, ἀνθ' ᾧ παρηγήσατο δύω μονῶν, τῆς τε μονῆς τῆς Ἱβηρίστης, τῆς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων τυγχανούσης, καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Φωκᾶ τῆς ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι διακειμένης. . . .

The text is taken from Uspenski, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

**C. SETTLEMENT OF PART OF THE ESTATE OF KOLOBOU
ON THE MONKS OF MOUNT ATHOS BY JOHANNES
THE GEORGIAN, A. D. 985.**

† Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς ὁ Πρῶτος. † Ἄθανάσιος μοναχὸς ὁ τῆς Λαύρας ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ Φακινός. † Δανιὴλ μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος ὁ Ἀτζιπᾶνος. † Ἰλαρίων μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος τοῦ Ξηροκάστρου. † Θεόδωρος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Ἀρσένιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Διονύσιος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Λουκᾶς μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Φιλάδελφος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Νικηφόρος μοναχὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος. † Γεώργιος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Κύριλλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. † Κοσμᾶς

μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. †Νεόφυτος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος.
 †Στέφανος μοναχὸς καὶ τρεσβύτερος τοῦ Κατζάρη.
 †Διωρόθεος μοναχὸς καὶ τρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος.
 †Παῦλος μοναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος. †Νικόλαος μοναχὸς καὶ
 ἡγούμενος τοῦ Βατετεδέου.

Ἐν ὄνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ιδίου καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου
 πινεύματος, Θωμᾶς μοναχὸς Πρώτος καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἡγούμενοι
 οἱ τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς ἴδιοχέρως πήξαντες, τουτέστι
 προτάξαντες καὶ ὑποτάξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὄνομασιν ἡμῶν, τὴν
 παρούσαν ἔγγραφον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀτεντεῦθεν ἥδη διάλυσιν,
 τιθέμεθα καὶ ποιοῦμεν οἰκείᾳ ἡμῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ αὐτο-
 προαιρέτῳ βουλῇ, καὶ οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης ἡ βίας ἡ χρείας
 ἡ μετὰ δόλου, ἀλλ' δλως οἰκείᾳ προθέσει καὶ βουλήσει
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ "Ορει μοναχῶν, εἰς ὑμᾶς τὸν εὐλαβέστατον
 μοναχὸν καὶ ἡγούμενον τὸν κύριον Ἰωάννην τὸν Ἰβηρα, καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν μοναχὸν καὶ τρεσβύτερον εὐθύμιων τὸν ιδίον σου,
 καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ τῶν διαδόχους ὑμῶν τοὺς μέλλοντας εἰς
 τὴν συνεργίαν θεοῦ ποιηθεῖσαν Λαύραν ἡγεμονεύειν, τὴν ἐπ'
 ὄνόματι τῆς παναγίας Θεοτότου ιδρυμένην καὶ λεγομένην
 τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἐπὶ ὑποθέσει τοιάδε:—

Ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κολοφοῦ μοναστήριον εἶχον ἀρχῆθεν
 συνήθειαν οἱ ἐν τῷ "Ορει διατελοῦντες μοναχοὶ ὅτε παντελῶς
 ὀλίγοι ὑπῆρχον, ἔχερχόμενος εἰς Ἱεριστὸν σπανίως διά τινα
 χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν παραβαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μένειν ἐνίστε
 καὶ ἐσθίειν· καὶ τοῦτο τινες ἔξ αὐτῶν τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ
 εὐαριθμήτων καὶ οὐχὶ βουλόμενος ἔκαστος, ἀλλὰ πρόσωπά
 τινα ἐμφανὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων γέροντων. Διὸ καὶ γογγυσμὸς
 πολλάκις καὶ φιλονεκία μεταξὺ τῶν μοναχῶν ἐκινέτο,
 πειρωμένων καὶ ἐτέρων παραβαλεῖν καὶ μὴ συγχωρούμενων,
 ὡς ἥδη καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἡγουμένου τὴν μονὴν μὴ
 βουλομένου, εἴτα καὶ εἰς πλήθος ἐπεκταθέντων τῶν ἐν [τῷ]
 "Ορει μοναχῶν, ἐγόγγυζον οἱ τῆς μονῆς καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους
 τοὺς μοναχοὺς τοὺς διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἡγουμένου
 φιλίαν παραβαλόντας ὀλιγάκις τῇ μονῇ διὰ τοῦ χρόνου
 καὶ δμως ἀπεκόπησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οὐδὲ ἄλλος παρέβαλλε
 τῇ μονῇ μοναχὸς ἐκ τοῦ "Ορούς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, πλέον τῶν
 ὀκτὼ ἡ δέκα ἐτῶν παρεληλυθότων ἔξ ὅτου δηλονότι οὐδεὶς
 τῶν ἀρχαίων οὗτε ἔξ ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων ἔτυχε ἐν τῇ



μονῆ οἰασδήποτε ἀναπαύσεως. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ προσυπέ-
μνησαμεν τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς δοθῆναι εἰς ἔξουσίαν
τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ
κύρου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βασιλέως¹ προσυπέμνησεν ὃ τε μοναχὸς
ὁ Στουδιατῶν καὶ ὁ μοναχὸς Ἀθανάσιος ὁ τῆς λαύρας τῶν
Μελανῶν ἥγούμενος καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος μοναχὸς Ἰωάννης ὁ
Ἰβηρ ἀξιώσαντες δοθῆναι ἡμῖν τὴν εἰρημένην μονὴν, καὶ
οὐ κατεδέξατο ὁ βασιλεύς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ κύρου
Βασιλείου² τοῦ νῦν εὐσεβοῦς βασιλεύοντος ἀπεστείλαμεν
μετὰ γραμμάτων δεητικῶν τὸν μοναχὸν Θωμᾶν τὸν Πιθαρᾶν
καὶ τὸν μοναχὸν Σάββαν τὸν Μαλινᾶν, αἰτησάμενοι περὶ
τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατένευσεν
εἰς τὴν αἴτησιν ἡμῶν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τοῦτο
ἐγγράψαμεν διὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ λεγομένου Χελανδάρη πρὸς
τὸν εἰρημένον βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν παρακοιμώμενον
οὐδόλως ἡκούσθημεν ἀπηλπίσαμεν παντελῶς τῆς τοιαύτης
ὑποθέσεως καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ μονῇ παρέβαλλεν
ἔκτοτε. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῆς ἀμυδρᾶς ἐκείνης
συνηθείας ἔκκοπείσης διὰ τε τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τοὺς μοναχοὺς
ὡς εἱρηται καὶ διὰ τὸ οὐκ ἔκ τινος εὐλόγου ἡ ἔξουσίας
γεγενῆσθαι τὴν συνήθειαν ἐκείνην, ἀλλὰ μόνον φιλίας τοῦ
καθηγουμένου νεύοντος τῆς μονῆς ὥστε καὶ ἀφ' ὅτου παρέ-
λαβεν αὐτὴν ὁ μοναχὸς Στέφανος καὶ ἥγούμενος οὐδὲ καν
ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι συνεχώρησε παρακύπτειν τινὰ ἔξι ἡμῶν καὶ
ἐφρόντιζεν ἔκαστος αὐτὸν καθὼς ἡδυνάμεθα ὅτε διὰ χρείας
εἰς Ιεριστὸν παρεβάλλομεν, ὡς μηδεμίᾳ πρόφασιν εὐλογον
ἔχοντες τὸν ἥγούμενον ἔκπειράζειν οὐδὲ ἔως ψιλοῦ ρήματος.
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ εἰρήμενα οἰκονομήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ
ἐδόθη ἡ τοιαύτη μονὴ εἰς τελείαν κυριότητα καὶ ἀναφαίρετον
δεσποτείαν καὶ προσεκυρώθη δι' εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβούλλου
τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως κύρου Βασιλείου τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ
εὐαγεστάτῃ λαύρᾳ τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Εἶτα
καὶ ἔξόδους πολλὰς καταβαλόντες καὶ κόπους ὑποστάντες
καὶ εἰς ἐμφάνειαν καὶ εὐπορίαν αὐτὴν καταστήσαντες
ἀνφοδόμησαν εὗπορον αὐτὴν ἀπεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἐπεὶ
συνήργησεν ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἔξουσίαν καὶ δεσποτείαν

¹ Johannes Tzimisces.² Basil Bulgaroktonos.

γενέσθαι αὐτὴν θαρήσαντες τῇ ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνῃ καταγώγιον εν τῷ κάστρῳ τῆς Ἱερισσοῦ καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινόσεως· ἵνα ὅτε ἔξελθη τις ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρούς παραβάλλειν καὶ μένειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καταγωγίῳ. Ὅμεις δὲ οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο εἴξατε μόνον τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μείζονα ἄπερ οὐκ ἥλπίζαμεν πεποιήκατε καὶ ἐδωρήσασθε ἡμῶν πρῶτον μὲν αὐλὴν καὶ οἰκήματα πολλά τε καὶ κάλλιστα ἄπερ ἐκ τοῦ Νικηφόρου τοῦ πρωτοπαπᾶ ἔξω-
νήσασθε εἰς λᾶς ὑπέρπυρα, ἐν οἷς καταμένοντες ὅτε διὰ χρείαν παρεβάλλομεν ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ καὶ ἀναπανόμενοι ὑπερευχόμεθα τῆς ὑμῶν ὁσιότητος. ἔπειτα δὲ κατανυγέντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν ἡμῶν ὡς οἰκεῖαν λογιζόμενοι σωτηρίαν ψυχῆς ἐδωρήσασθε καὶ ἀρπελῶνα κάλλιστον καὶ εὗφορον ὑπάρχοντα μὲν τῆς μονῆς, καλλεεργηθέντα δὲ καὶ φυτευθέντα παρ' ὑμῶν μετ' ἔξόδων καὶ κόπων οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ὅντα πλινθία ὧστε λ σὸν τῷ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν φυτευθέντος ἐκτιμηθεὶς διὰ χαράγματος χρυσοῦ λίτρας ἔ. Δι' ἀ εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι καὶ ὑπερευχόμενοι τῆς ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀρε-
τῆς καὶ ἀγιότητος, ἔξασφαλιζόμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας μὴ ἔχειν ἔχουσίαν καὶ ἄδειάν τινα τῶν ἀπάντων, ἔτε ἔξ ἡμῶν τῶν νῦν περιόντων, εἴτε τῶν μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Ὀρει καταλιμπανομένων ἡ ἐλευσομένων κίνησιν ἡ ἀγωγὴν σίανδήποτε πρόφασιν ἔχόντων εὐλογόν τε καὶ ἄλλογον ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρημένης μονῆς, ὑπὲρ ἡς οὐδὲ ταῦτα γράφειν εὐλογούν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἣν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ ὀλιγοστοὶ εἶχον ἐν τῇ μονῇ παραβαλεῖν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡγουμένου διὰ φιλίαν καὶ θεσμὸν ἀγάπης ἀποδε-
χομένου αὐτούς. Καὶ ἔάν τις φωραθῆ οὐ μόνον κινῶν περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔως ψιλοῦ ῥήματος ἐνοχλείν ἡ παραπικραίνειν εἴτε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, εἴτε τοὺς ὑμετέρους διαδόχους τῆς τοιαύτης ἔνεκα ὑποθέσεως, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὴν κατάραν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ θεοφόρων πατέρων ἡμῶν, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ ἔστι κεχωρισμένος τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος καὶ γένηται ἡ μερις αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀρνησάντων τὸν νιὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σταυρωσάντων αὐτόν, καὶ μὴ ἀκοῦσθαι τοῦτον ἡ παρ' ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἡ παρὰ πολιτικῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ διώκεσθαι αὐτὸν

ἐκ παντὸς κριτηρίου ὡς ἀχάριστον καὶ ἀγνόμονα καὶ ἀρνητὴν τοῦ οὐν τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσας εὐεργεσίας καὶ εὐποιίας ἐργάσασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστρέφεσθαι δίχα νόμου καὶ ἐρωτήσεως πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μέρος μετὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οἰκημάτων καὶ τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ἴσχυρὰν καὶ βεβαίαν καὶ ἀρραγῆ καὶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῶν ἔγγραφόν τε καὶ ἔντυπόγραφον ἀσφάλειαν, ὡς ἄτε ἐκ συμφώνου παρὰ πάντων ἡμῶν γεγονούναι μετὰ προθέσεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ εὐχαριστίας τῆς προσηκούσης. Ἐαν δὲ γένηται ποτε καιρῷ ἡ χρόνῳ τὴν εἰρημένην μόνην, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἐξ ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ σακκέλῃ προσκυρωθῆναι, ἢ εἰς ἔτερον σεκρέτον, ἢ τινα πρόσωπον τότε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ὀρούς μοναχοὶ σὺν τῷ Πρώτῳ, δίχα πάσης εὐλόγου ἡ ἀλόγου δικαιολογίας, ἡ οἰασδήποτε προφάσεως ἵνα ἀποστρέψωσι τὰ προειρημένα οἰκήματα, ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοπατά ἐξωνήσασθε καὶ ἐδωρήσασθε ἡμῖν, πρὸς τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς μέρος καὶ τὴν εὐαγεστάτην ὑμῶν λαύραν τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Κλήμεντος. Ως ἀν μετ' εἰρημικῆς καταστάσεως καὶ ἀγάπης πνευματικῆς συζώμεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνδιαρκούμενοι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει, ἐκποδὼν γενομένων πάσης φιλονεικίας καὶ οἰασδήποτε ἔχθρας καὶ γογγυσμοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κτηνῶν τῆς μονῆς [τοῦ] Κολοβοῦ καθὼς ἔκπαλαι τῶν χρόνων εἰχον ἔθος τοῦ νέμεσθαι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ὁρει τὴν αὐτὴν συνήθειαν θέλομεν φυλάττεσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, μὴ ἔχοντός τινος ἔξουσίαν καταλύειν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων. . . .

[Then follows permission to build a house near the common harbour of Galiagra or Kaliagra, without, however, any right to the ground being given.]

ταῦτα συνεφωνήθη καὶ ἐγράφη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη κατενώπιον ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἰανουάριον μῆνα τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἵδικτιῶνος, καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι καὶ ἀρεσθέντες κατὰ πάντα προετάξαμεν καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν τοὺς τιμίους σταυροὺς σὺν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἡμῶν ἰδιοχείρως μηνὶ καὶ ἵδικτιῶν τῇ

*προγεγραμμένη. Ἐγράφη δὲ διὰ χειρὸς Φαντίνου μοναχοῦ
καὶ ἡγουμένου μονῆς τοῦ Σικελοῦ μοναχοῦ Λουκᾶ ἔτους
五百γ.*

Copied from τὸ Ἀγιον ὄρος, pp. 37-9. Gerasimos Smyrnakes gives no clue as to whether the original exists or whence he has obtained it.

The same text, but omitting the signatories at the beginning and inserting only as far as Στέφανος at the end, is given by Alexandros Lauriates in the Βυζάντινα Χρονικά, vol. v, pp. 489 ff.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS

THE following lists call for but little explanation. List I contains the names and *incipits* of the lives of Saints found in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos. For convenience I have added the references to similar MSS. in Rome and Paris, and further research would no doubt add to the number, and would probably also show that some of my 'lives' have actually been published. It is a pity that it was not possible to give the references to the actual MSS. in the Laura, but the librarian Chrysostomus was not willing to allow me the use of his catalogue for this purpose, though he was kind enough to give the list of the unpublished items. A complete catalogue of the Hagiographical MSS. on Mount Athos is greatly to be desired, but until it can be produced the present list may be of interest. List II similarly gives the unpublished lives of Saints in the library of Prodromou near Serres; this is in comparison with the Laura a small collection, but it has some fine MSS., which the courtesy of the librarian allowed me to study, and to extract the unpublished lives of Saints. I cannot absolutely vouch for its completeness, but I do not think that it is probable that there is much more unpublished Hagiographical material in the library. List III gives in alphabetical order the writers to which the authorship of various lives in the preceding lists is ascribed: when not otherwise stated the reference is to List I.

LIST I

- Acepsumas.** Passio. *inc. ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ...* [Vat. 807⁴, &c.]
- Adrianus et Natalia.** Passio. *inc. Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου ...*
- Aecatherina.** Passio. *inc. τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ ἀσεβεστάτου ...* [Par. 1180³⁷, &c.]
- Agathonicus.** Passio. *inc. Μαξιμιανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς ...*
- Alexius** (δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς τοῦ θεοῦ). Vita. *inc. ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ εὐσεβῆς ...* [Vat. 866⁷⁶, &c.]
- Alypius.** Vita. *inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων ...* [Vat. 805⁹, &c.; Par. 579⁹, &c.]
- Anastasia.** Vita. *inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ...* [Vat. 866¹⁸, &c.]
- Andreas Cretensis.** Vita a Niceta Patricio. *inc. οὐ θεμιτὸν ἔστι ...*
- Anthimus.** Passio. *inc. βασιλεύοντος τὸ τημικάντα ...* [Par. 1506⁹.]

- Arsenius.** Vita. inc. πολλαὶ τῶν σπουδαίων . . . [Vat. 819³; Par. 1548¹, &c.]
- Artemius.** Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος Ἰουλιανοῦ . . . [Par. 769³, &c.]
- Athenogenes.** Passio. inc. ἐπὶ Διοκλητιανοῦ . . . [Par. 1447¹⁵, &c.]
- Auxentius.** 1. Vita a Psello. inc. ἀρχὴ μὲν ἡμῖν . . . [Vat. 672⁵.]
2. Vita. inc. καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἔξι ἀλλοδαπῆς . . .
- Basiliscus.** Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς βασιλείας Μαξιμιανοῦ . . .
- Benedictus.** Passio. inc. τὸ ἔαρ φιλοῦσιν . . .
- Blastius.** Passio. inc. Βλάστος ὁ μάρτυς . . . [Vat. 1245⁴, &c.]
- Cerycus et Iulitta.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. διπλεῖς εὐκαιρίαι . . . [Vat. 820²⁰.]
- Charalampus.** Passio. inc. βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν . . . [Ottob. 92¹²; Par. 1452¹⁴.]
- Christina.** Passio. inc. τὴν Χριστώρυμα . . .
- Christophorus.** Passio a Petro Italo. inc. Δεκίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα . . .
describ. τῷ τῆς ζωῆς ἀρτφ.
- Coinatus.** Passio. inc. στέφανος μὲν οὐτρ . . .
- Conon.** Passio. inc. πάλιν ὁ τῆς δυστεβοῦς πάτερ . . .
- Constantinus Imp.** 1. Vita et inventio Crucis. inc. τὰ τοῦ
μακαριωτάτου . . . [Vat. 974¹, &c.; Par. 1453³, &c.]
2. Encomium a Constantino Acropolita. inc. δρά τις εὐσεβείας
ζῆλος αὐχέν . . . [Par. 978⁵.]
3. Vita. inc. τὰ κάλλεστα τῶν δημηγμάτων . . .
- Cosmas Acropolita.** Vita. inc. νόμος ἐστὶ παλαιῶς . . .
- Cosmas et Damianus.** 1. Vita. inc. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ . . .
2. Vita. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους . . .
- Cyrus et Iohannes.** Vita. inc. ὁ μὲν σωτήριος λόγος . . .
- Cyrillus ep. Alexandriae.** Hypomnema ab Iohanne Zonara. inc.
ἀρθη μὲν ὁ πολυχέυματος . . .
- Cyrillus Philectus.** Vita a Nicola Catacoereno. inc. εὐλογητὸς
ὁ θεὸς . . .
- Demetrius.** 1. Passio. inc. ὅτε Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς . . .
2. Encomium ab Iohanne Stauracio. [Vat. 1572⁴, &c.; Par. 1485¹¹, &c.]
3. Encomium a Gregorio Palama. inc. ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν . . .
- Dionysius Areopagita.** Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. ἐξ ὅρου
μέν . . .
- Dometius Persa.** Passio. inc. ἥνεγκε μὲν ἡ Περσῶν . . .
- Eleutherius.** Passio. inc. ἀναλύσαντος Ἀδριανοῦ . . .
- Euphemia.** 1. Vita. inc. ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονέων . . . [Vat. 797⁵.]
2. Encomium a Theodoro Vestro (Βέστρον). inc. τις αὗτη ἡ ἀνα-
βαίνεντα . . .
- Eupraxia.** Vita ab Iohanne Zonara. inc. γυναικά ἀνδρείαν . . .

- Fausta, Euclasius, Maximinus.** Passio. *inc. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν καιρὸν . . .*
- Georgius.** 1. Encomium ab Arcadio Cyprio. *inc. συγκαλεῖ πᾶλιν ἡμᾶς . . .*
 2. Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. *inc. καὶ τίς ἀν παραδράμοι . . .*
 3. Nativitas, Vita et Passio. *inc. πολλοὶ μὲν αὐγὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀρίστεν . . .*
- Gregorius Sinaita.** Vita a Callisto Patriarcha. *inc. οὗτος δὲ διαφανής σωτῆρ . . . [Cf. BHG., p. 52.]*
- Hilarion.** Vita. *inc. ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ πόλις ἐστίν . . . [Vat. 798¹⁸, &c.; Par. 1480¹⁷, &c.]*
- Iacobus frater domini.** Encomium a Niceta Rhetore.¹ *inc. ὡς γλυκέα . . . [Par. 755¹⁶, &c.]*
- Iacobus Persa.** 1. Passio. *inc. Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων . . .*
 2. Passio. *inc. τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆς . . .*
 3. Passio. *inc. καὶ ἐκεῖνος τὸν καιρὸν . . .*
- Isaacius, Faustus et Dalmatia.** Vita. *inc. δὲ μέγας οὐρανὸς καὶ θαυμαστὸς . . .*
- Isidorus.** Passio. *inc. κατὰ τὴν τιμίαν καὶ ἔνθεον . . . [Cf. Vat. 2033¹⁹, &c.]*
- Iohannes Apostolus.** 1. Translatio. *inc. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . .*
 2. Encomium a Proculo. *inc. οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι εὐαγγελισταὶ . . . [Vat. 821¹⁵, &c.]*
- Iohannes Baptista.** 1. Encomium ab Aetio presbytero Constantiopolitano. *inc. πολλοὶ μὲν ἥδη . . .*
 2. Translatio manus a Theodoro Daphnopato. *inc. Ιδοὺ καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν . . . [Vat. 823¹³, &c.; Par. 1449¹⁰, &c.]*
 3. Decollatio a Theodoro Ptochoprodromo. *inc. καλῶς ἐφίρμοσαν . . .*
 4. Decollatio. *inc. κακού ἐστιν . . .*
 5. a Simeone Logotheta. *inc. Ἰωάννου τὸ μέγα κλέος . . .*
 6. Inventio. *inc. δὲ ἀγαθότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ . . .*
- Iohannes Climacus.** Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. *inc. οὐδὲν τιμώτερον ἀρετῆς . . . [Par. 755¹⁷.]*
- Iulianus.** Passio. *inc. βίᾳ διωγμοῦ . . . [Vat. 1667²³.]*
- Laurentius.** Passio. *inc. εἰδωλικοῦ ποτε κλύδωνος . . . desin. ἀγιότατοι μάρτυρες.*
- Lazarus Galesiota.** 1. Vita. *inc. δὲ πλάσας κατὰ μόνας . . . desin. . . αὐτῇ ἡ πολιτεία, οὐτος δὲ βίος.*
 2. Vita a Georgio vel Gregorio Xiphilino. *inc. δὲ τῶν κατὰ Θεοντὸν . . . desin. . . καὶ θεοφιλῶς διανύσαντες.*

¹ This justifies the inscriptions in a later hand in cod. Par. 755.
 Cf. *Catal. Gr. Paris.*, ad loc.

- Lucas apostolus.** 1^a. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. inc. ὁ λαμπρότης . . . desin. . . . εὐμενὸς τούτῳ τῷ βραχῖ.
- 1^b. Encomium a Niceta Rhetore. inc. ὁ λαμπρότης, ὁ αἶστος . . . desin. . . . τῇ ἐν σοὶ τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτι.
2. Vita. inc. ταῖς μνείαις τῶν ἀγίων . . .
3. Encomium ab Hesychio Hierosolymitano presbytero. inc. φόβῳ τοῦ στωκάνου . . .
- Mamas.** Passio. inc. τοὺς τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων πόνους . . . desin. . . . ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ ὁ ἄγιος Μάμας. [Par. 772^a, &c.]
- Marcianus et Martyrius.** Passio. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ τελειώθηναι τὸν μακριώτατον Ἀλέξανδρον . . . desin. . . . ἐτελειώθησαν οὖν οἱ ἄγιοι. [Par. 1468^{ab}.]
- Maria Magdalena.** Vita. inc. ἦγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας . . . desin. . . . φιλοτίμης κατίθετο.
- Maria Iunior.** Vita et miracula. inc. ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν . . . desin. . . . νόσου ἀπαλλαγήν. [Vat. 800^a.]
- Marina.** 1. Passio. inc. οὐδὲν οὔτες ἥδυνει . . . desin. . . . ἔχει πρεσβεύοντα. [Vat. 820ⁱⁱ; Coislin. 307^{ab}.]
2. Encomium a Gregorio Cyprio. inc. καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἅρα . . . [Palat. 59^a, &c.; Par. 831^a.]
- Martinianus.** 1. Vita. inc. δὲν τρόπον . . . desin. . . . τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ. [Vat. 800^a, &c.; Par. 1450ⁱⁱ.]
2. Vita. inc. ἔγγιστα τῆς πόλεως Παλαιστίνης ὅρος ἐστὶ καλούμενον τόπος κιβωτοῦ . . . [Vat. 866^{ab}, &c.]
- Martyres XL.** 1. Passio. inc. κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς . . . [Par. 1164^a, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. εἰχε μὲν τὰ Ἄρωμαίων . . . [Vat. 1245ⁱⁱ, &c.; Par. 772ⁱⁱ, &c.]
- Meletius Galesiota.** Vita. inc. δέονται μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις . . .
- Menas, Hermogenes, Euphrasius.** Passio ab Athanasio Alexandrino. inc. τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος . . . [Vat. 821ⁱⁱ, &c.; Par. Coisl. 368^a, &c.]
- Menas in Cotnaeo.** 1. Passio. inc. ἑτούς δευτέρου τῆς βασιλίας . . . [Vat. 803^a, &c.; Par. 1454^{ab}.]
2. Miracula. inc. ἡν τις γυνὴ . . .
3. Miracula, a Timotheo Alexandrino. inc. ἐγένετο μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν . . . [Vat. 797^{ab}, &c.; Par. 1454^{ab}, &c.]
- Menodora, Metrodora, Nymphodora.** Passio. inc. ἥδη μὲν τοῦ τελείου . . . desin. . . . ἐμαρτύρησαν δὲ αἱ ἄγιαι.
- Mercurius.** 1. Passio. inc. Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ Βαλλεριανὸς . . . desin. . . . καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν μάρτυρα Μερκούριον. [Vat. 805^a, &c.; Par. 579^a, &c.]
2. Passio. inc. Δέκιος ἡνίκα . . . desin. . . . καὶ θεραπείας ἀπέλαβον.
- Michael archangelus.** Miraculum in Chonis a Pantaleone diacono. inc. μεγάλαι καὶ πολλαὶ . . . desin. . . . καὶ κρατήσει τῆς δεξιᾶς. [Vat. 654^a, &c.; Par. 501^a, &c.]

- Michael (Ιαματικός)** Ηγρομνήμα. *inc.* οὗτος ὁ μακάριος . . . *desin.*
. . . οὐτω δοξάζει ὁ θεός.
- Moses Aethiops.** Encomium. *inc.* ωσπερ ἀδύνατον . . . *desin.* . . . οὐ
ταῖς ὄστιαις εὐχαῖς. [Par. 1453^a.]
- Nephon Halmyopolitanus.** Vita. *inc.* μυστήριον βασιλέως κρύπτων . . .
desin. ἐτελεώθη ὁ δόσιος Νήφων.
- Nephon (Κωνσταντινῆς).** Vita (epitome?). *inc.* εἰ μυστήριον βασιλέως . . .
desin. . . . ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων.
- Nicephorus,** Passio. *inc.* οὐδὲν ἔοικεν ἀγάπης . . . *desin.* . . . κοσμη-
θῆναι στεφάνους. [Vat. 1245^b, &c.; Par. 1500^b, &c.]
- Nicetas.** 1. Passio. *inc.* τὸν ἀγίων μαρτύρων . . . *desin.* . . . ἔχειν
λόγου τὰ νικητήρια. [Par. 520^b, &c.]
2. Sermo a Theodoro Mousaloni. *inc.* μέγα τι δεῖγμα . . . *desin.*
. . . καὶ ἡμῶν δὲ αὐτῶν.
3. Passio. *inc.* ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις . . . *desin.* . . . ἡ δὲ κατάθεσις
τῆς τοιαύτης πέτρας.
- Nicolaus Myrensis.** 1. Vita. *inc.* ἀπαντας μὲν . . . *desin.* . . . ἀγροικός
τις τῶν τὰς ἑσχατὰς οἰκούντων.
2. Encomium a Basilio Lacedaemoniensi. *inc.* οἱ τῶν ἀρετῶν . . .
desin. . . . τὸν θεὸν ἴλεων.
- Onuphrius.** 1. Vita. *inc.* ἀρετῆς ἱπανος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ μεμυημένου.
2. Vita. *inc.* θείας ἀγάπης καὶ ἔρωτος . . . *desin.* . . . ἡμᾶς σεσωσμένους.
[Par. 1170^c.]
3. Vita (et Paphnutii). *inc.* Ἐλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ . . . *desin.*
. . . καὶ ποιήσαντες εὐχήν.
- Pachomius.** 1. Vita. *inc.* ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ πηγὴ . . .
desin. . . . εἰς ζῆλον αὐτῶν ἐναγόμεθα. [Vat. 819^d, &c.; Par.
881^d, &c.]
2. Vita et miracula. *inc.* ὅντως ἀληθῆς ἡ θρυλλομένη . . . *desin.*
. . . εἰς μίμησιν καὶ ἀφέλειαν.
- Paisius.** Vita a Iohanne Kolobo. *inc.* ωσπερ τὰ τερπιὰ τοῦ βιοῦ . . .
desin. . . . ταῦτα εἰρήσθω. [Par. 1093^e, &c.]
- Panteleemon.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς . . .
desin. . . . ἔκυογος. [Vat. 679^f; Par. 1180^g.]
- Paulus apostolus.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* πᾶσα μὲν
έορτὴ . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. [Par. 755ⁱ.]
- Paulus et Petrus.** Encomium a Georgio Acropolita. *inc.* οὐχ
ἀπλῶς μὲν . . . *desin.* . . . δόους ἡ λαμπρότης.
- Petrus apostolus.** 1. Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* ἡδεῖα τῆς
ἡμέρας ἡ χάρις . . . *desin.* . . . σὺν ἡμίν ἔξουλογούματι.
2 (Θλυσις). *inc.* δόσις τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἐμεγάλυτας.
[Vat. 817^h, &c.; Par. 236^h, &c.]
- Petrus et reliqui apostoli.** Encomium a Niceta rhetore. *inc.* τί καλὴ
τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡ τάξις . . . *desin.* . . . ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἔνα.

- Philemon.** Vita. *inc.* Ἐλεγον περὶ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Φιλήμονος . . . *desin.*
... τὸ καλούμενον μαλάκιον.
- Philippos Apostolus.** Encomium. *inc.* ἀποστολικῆς μητροπόλεως . . .
desin. . . . τὰ μημένων σὸν πανηγυρίζομεν. [Par. Coisal. 121¹⁸.]
- Phocas.** Passio ab Astorio Amasiae. *inc.* ἵερὸς μὲν καὶ θεωπόσιος . . .
desin. . . . κηρύγγουσα Κύριον. [Vat. 794²⁰, &c.; Par. 1489¹⁹, &c.]
- Probus, Tarachus, Andronicus.** Epistola XI fratrum. *inc.* Πάμφιλος καὶ Μαρκίων . . . *desin.* . . . τῇ εἰδότητι καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- Proclus et Hilarius.** Passio. *inc.* ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ . . . *desin.*
... μετὰ τοῦ ἀγίου Πράκλου.
- Sabbas.** Vita. *inc.* οὐδὲν οὔτω κνήσαι . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ εἰρηναῖαν διαγωγὴν. [Vat. 812¹, &c.; Par. 1195¹⁰, &c.]
- Sabbas Vatopedinus.** Vita a Philotheo Constantinopolitano. *inc.* Σάββας ὁ θαυμάσιος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ ἀπασιάστον.
- Sadoth.** Passio. *inc.* μετὰ τὸ τελεσθῆναι . . . *desin.* . . . ἐν πόλει καλονύμηῃ Βηθλαπάτῃ. [Vat. Ottob. 92²²; Par. 1452²¹.]
- Sergius et Bacchus.** Passio. *inc.* ἔτος ἡγένετο . . . *desin.* . . . προστάγματι θεοῦ.
- Silvester Romanus.** Vita. *inc.* οἱ μὲν σεπτοὶ . . . *desin.* . . . πολλῶν καμάτων. [Vat. 816¹¹; Par. Coisal. 807¹.]
- Sophronius Hierosolymitanus.** Encomium ab Iohanne Zonara. *inc.* οἱ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μακαρίοις . . . *desin.* . . . πόθῳ πρέσεων.
- Stephanus Iunior.** Vita. *inc.* θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετὴ . . . *desin.* . . . ὦ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρασταίμεν. [Vat. 805¹¹, &c.; Par. 436¹, &c.]
- Stephanus protomartyr.** 1. Hypomnema. *inc.* διὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος . . . *desin.* . . . μετέθηκαν τὰ λείψανα.
2. Translatio a Psello. *inc.* ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . *desin.*
... καὶ ἀντιληπτός Στεφάνου.
3. Passio. *inc.* ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον . . . *desin.* . . . ἐτελειώθη δὲ ὁ ἄγιος πρωτόμαρτς. [Vat. 679²⁷.]
4. Translatio. *inc.* καὶ πῶς ἀν τις αἵτις . . . *desin.* . . . τοῦ πανάγου σὸν σώματος.
- Stephanus Romanus.** Passio. *inc.* κατὰ τὸν χρόνον Οἰναλλειανοῦ . . . *desin.* . . . μονάς. [Par. Suppl. 241¹.]
- Symeon** ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ ὄρε. 1. Vita a Claudio(?) Cyprio. *inc.* εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ πάντας θέλων . . . *desin.* . . . συγκαταριθμηθώμεν τοῖς εὐαρεστήσαστι.
2. Vita. *inc.* Ἰουντίνου τοῦ πάλαι . . . *desin.* . . . ἐντυχάνεις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.
- Symeon Iunior Theologus.** Vita. *inc.* χρῆμα θερμὸν ἀρετὴ . . . *desin.*
... ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐκλησίᾳ. [Par. 1610; cf. Combebis, *Bibliotheca graecorum Patrum auctarium novissimum*, ii, 119–29.]
- Symeon Stylites.** Vita ab Antonio. *inc.* ξένον καὶ παράδοξον . . . *desin.* . . . ἐπιτελούνται τοῖς πιστοῖς. [Vat. 797¹, &c.; Par. 760², &c.]

- Theodorus Stratelates.** 1. *Passio.* *inc.* Λικυνίφ τῷ βασιλεῖ . . . [Vat. 820¹, &c.; Par. 976³, &c.]
 2. *Encomium ab Euthymio.* *inc.* τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον . . .
- Theodorus Tyro.** 1. *Passio.* *inc.* Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμῖνος οἱ βασιλεῖς . . . [Par. 520¹⁴?]
 2. *Passio (?)* [*εἰς τὸ πρώτον Σάββατον τῶν Νηστειῶν*]. *inc.* Μαξιμιανῷ καὶ Μαξιμῷ . . . [Vat. 1245⁸.]
- Theodosia encomium a Stauricio Chartophylaci Thessalonicensi.** *inc.* ὁ λόγος τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας . . .
- Timotheus Apostolus.** *Encomium a Niceta rhetore.* *inc.* τῇ δᾳ ὁ Τιμόθεος . . . *desin.* . . . εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας. [Par. 755¹⁴.]
- Trypho.** *Passio.* *inc.* ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ Κλαυδίου Ἀκυλίνου. [Vat. Ottob. 92⁸.]
- Xene Romana.** *Vita.* *inc.* πᾶσαι αἱ πολιτεῖαι . . . *desin.* . . . ἀμφότεροι ἀγαλλόμενοι. [Vat. 866¹⁰; Par. 1219¹⁰.]
- Xenophon.** *Vita.* *inc.* διηγήσατο τις μέγας γέρων . . . *desin.* . . . ἵνα μὴ τῇ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ρᾳδυμίᾳ. [Vat. 866¹⁰, &c.; Par. 1318³, &c.]

LIST II

- Alypius.** Nov. 26. [A. 35.¹] *inc.* Καλοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν μαρτύρων ἄθλοι . . . *desin.* . . . τὸν τοὺς αὐτοῦ θεράποντας δοξάζοντα . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805⁹, &c.; Par. 579⁹.]
- Andreas Cretensis.** *Encomium.* Jul. 4. [A. 40.] *inc.* Μέγα ἀνθρωπος καὶ τίμον ἀνὴρ . . . *desin.* . . . λιμένα σωτήριον . . .
- Anna.** *Sermo in conceptionem S. Annae ab Euthymio monacho et syncello.* Dec. 9. [A. 36, A. 37.] *inc.* Σήμερον δὲ ἀκατάληπτος . . . *desin.* . . . προελθόντος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ . . . κτλ.
- Barbara.** *Encomium.* Dec. 4. [A. 36.] *inc.* Πολλαὶ μὲν αἱ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν βίον . . . *desin.* . . . καὶ τὸν γόνους ἐβάστασε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μεμαλάκισται.
- Constantinus Imp.** *Hypomnema.* Mai. 21. [A. 40.] *inc.* "Οσοι μὲν τὸν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἅρχειν . . . *desin.* . . . πανταχοῦ γῆς ἀνηγέρθησαν."
- Epiphanius.** Mai. 12. [A. 40.] *inc.* Τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπογραψαμένων . . . *desin.* . . . ἀντικειμένων αὐτῷ αἰρετικῶν. Apparently a late document based on the accounts of Iohannes and Polybius (B. 1 and B. 2).
- Febronia.** Iun. 25. [A. 40.] *inc.* Οὐδὲν τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἀγάπης . . . *desin.* . . . τοιαῦτα τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς γέρα κτλ.
- Iacobus Persa.** Nov. 27. [A. 35.] *inc.* Ἀρκαδίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων διέποντος σκῆπτρα . . . *desin.* . . . πάρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βραβείων ἀξιωθήσεται. [Codd. Vat. 805¹⁰, &c.; Par. 579¹⁰.]

¹ The shelf-number in the library of Prodromou.

- Iohannes Calybita.** Jan. 14. [A. 39.] *inc.* Τυραννικόν τι χρῆμα τεκόντεν... *desin.* . . . τὸ δέδρον ἀκβλουθον τῷ καρπῷ εἰς δόξαν κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 793¹¹, &c.; Par. 236³, &c.]
- Maximus Aug.** 13. [A. 40.] *inc.* Ἡρακλείου τῶν σκήπτρων... *desin.* . . . ἀναθέματι ὑποβαλεῖ κτλ.
- Mercurius.** Martyrium. Nov. 26. [A. 35.] *inc.* Δέκιος ἡνίκα καὶ Βαλεριανὸς δὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων... *desin.* . . . τιμῶντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρα Μερκούριου . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805³, &c.; Par. 579³, &c.]
- Michael archangelus.** Narratio Pantaleonis diaconi. Nov. 8. [A. 34.] *inc.* Μεγάλαι καὶ ποικίλαι καὶ πολλὰὶ . . . *desin.* . . . χάριτε καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Κυρίου. Contains stories relating to Satan, Adam, Abraham, Balaam, the body of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Goliath, Sennacherib, Constantine, the Argonauts, &c. [Codd. Vat. 654⁴, &c.; Par. 501⁴, &c.]
- Onuphrios** Jun. 12. [A. 40.] *inc.* Ἀρετῆς ἔπαινος . . . *desin.* . . . μεμημένους σον . . . κτλ.
- Pachomius.** Encomium. Mai. 15. [A. 40.] *inc.* Τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας δύντως μυστήριον . . . *desin.* . . . κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀριστεύματα κτλ.
- Petrus.** λόγος εἰς τὴν προσκύνησιν τῆς τεμίας ἀλύσεως τοῦ ἀγ. καὶ κορυφ. τ. ἀποστ. Π. Jan. 16. [A. 39.] *inc.* "Οσοι τῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου . . . *desin.* . . . διανίωμεν βίᾳν δοξάζοντες . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 817³, &c.; Par. 236³, &c.]
- Phocas hortulanus.** Sept. 22. [A. 31, A. 32, A. 33.] *inc.* Ἰερὸς μὲν καὶ θεσπέσιος ἄπας δὲ τῶν γενναίων μαρτύρων κατάλογος . . . *desin.* as the text in *Acta SS.* Sept. vi. 294-9. Apparently only a divergent. text of the ordinary encomium of Asterius.
- Saba.** Dec. 5. [A. 36.] *inc.* Οὐδὲν οὔτω κινῆσαι ψυχὴν . . . *desin.* . . . εἰρηναίου διαγεγὴν χάριτι . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 812³, &c.; Par. 1195¹⁰, &c.]
- Stephanus Iunior.** Nov. 28. [A. 35.] *inc.* Θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ πολλῶν ἀξια . . . *desin.* . . . οὐ καὶ ὑμᾶς παριστάημεν εὐχαῖς αὐτοῦ . . . κτλ. [Codd. Vat. 805¹¹, &c.; Par. 436¹.]
- Thomas.** Hypomnema. Oct. 6. [A. 33.] *inc.* Πάλαι μὲν τὰς κατὰ γῆν . . . *desin.* . . . τοῦ νοητοῦ ἡλίου καθαρώς ἐπελάμψατο. [Codd. Vat. 798⁶, &c.; Par. 774¹⁷, &c.; Regin. 56⁴; Ottob. 399⁴.]

LIST III

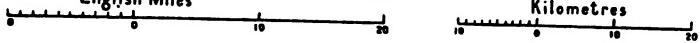
Aetius	Iohannes Bapt.
Antonius	Symeon Stylites.
Arcadius Cyprus	Georgius.
Asterius	Phocas.
Athanasius Alexandrinus	Menas.
Basilius Lacedaemoniensis	Nicolaus Myrensis.
Callistus Patriarcha	Gregorius Sinaita.
Clandius Cyprus	Symeon ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ δρει.
Constantinus Acropolita	Constantinus Imp.
Euthymius	Theodorus Stratelates, Anna (Prodromou).
Georgius <i>vel</i> Gregorius Xiphilinus	Lazarus Galesiota.
Georgius Acropolita	Georgius, Paulus et Petrus.
Gregorius Cyprus	Marina.
Gregorius Palamas	Demetrius.
Iohannes Kolobos	Paisius.
Iohannes Stauricius	Demetrius.
Iohannes Zonara	Eupraxia, Cyrillus Alex., Sophronius.
Nicetas Patricius	Andreas Creensis.
Nicetas Rhetor	Cerycus et Iulitta, Iacobus Fr. Dom., Dionysius Areopaga- gita, Iohannes Climacus, Lucas Apost., Pantalee- mon, Paulus Apost., Petrus Apost., Petrus et reliqui apostoli, Timotheus.
Nicolas Catascaepenus	Cyrillus Philectus.
Pantoleo Diaconus	Michael (in both libraries).
Petrus Italus	Christophorus.
Philotheus Constantinopolitanus	Sabbas Vatopedinus.
Proclus	Iohannes Apost.
Psellus	Auxentius, Stephanus.
Simon Logotheta	Iohannes Bapt.
Stauricius	Theodosia.
Theodorus Daphnopatus	Iohannes Bapt.
Theodorus Mousalon	Nicetas.
Theodorus Ptochoprodromus	Iohannes Bapt.
Theodorus Vestrus	Euphemia.
Timotheus Alexandrinus	Menas.

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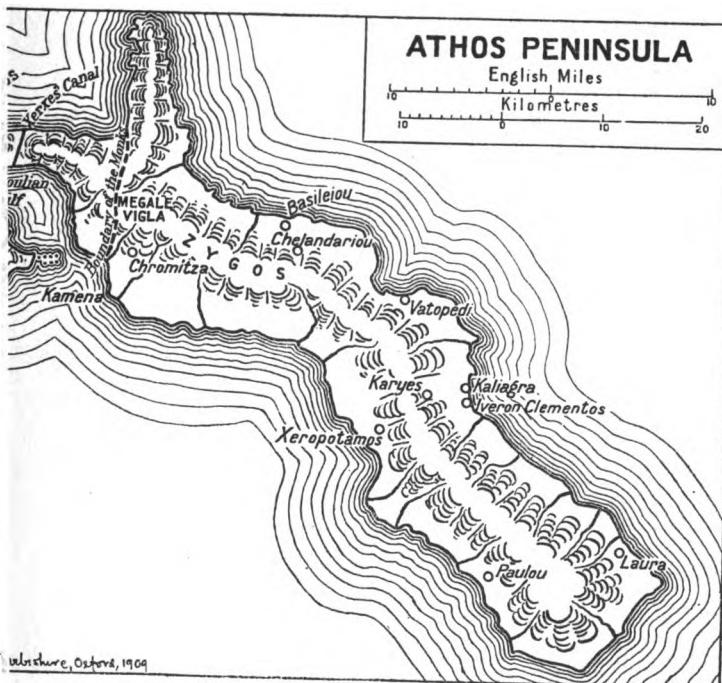
SCALE



ATHOS PENINSULA

English Miles Kilometres

A scale bar with markings for 0, 10, and 20 English miles, and 0, 10, and 20 Kilometres.



Illustration, Ostwald, 1909

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